

Japan's Liberal Democrats Face Uncertainty After Ohira's Death

By Henry Scott Stokes

TOKYO, June 12 (NYT) — Japan's Liberal Democratic Party, which has ruled the nation without a break since its formation in 1955 during a period of extraordinary economic growth, has lost strength over a 20-year period, culminating in recent intraparty squabbles that came close to splitting up the loose coalition of conservative factions.

But the decline of the party has been slow, and it has continued to govern without any real challenge from often ineffective opposition parties. Thus the Liberal Democrats are virtually certain to form a government after elections for both houses of parliament on June 22, taking 40 percent of the popular vote or more.

The key question, then, is whether the party's warring factions, of which there are five large and several small ones, will respond to the death yesterday of the controversial Premier Masayoshi Ohira by reuniting around a new leader of standing or whether the intraparty groups will continue to snarl at each other.

The impression here is that no one in the party, which is conservative despite its name, will want to risk rocking the boat at least until the elections. To do so — even before a state funeral and memorial services for the dead leader — would be offensive to public opinion in this formal society and could also influence the polls.

But if calm will reign in the ruling party for the next 10 days, the next question is whether it will persist after the elections, when the party faces the task of choosing a new leader to take over the reins from acting Premier Masayoshi Ito, who was Mr. Ohira's spokesman as chief Cabinet secretary, but who is not a major force in the party.

One reason for believing that the Liberal Democrats will keep their hatches buried is that the procedure for choosing a new leader encourages moderation. The procedure is that party elders, men in their 60s and 70s for the most part, confer quietly behind the scenes; what they say to each other in private is not made public.

This will limit the scope for speculation by a powerful, almost omnipresent Japanese press, which frequently has a significant impact on political decisions in Japan. And the party elders are likely, according to one Japanese source, to settle quickly on a compromise figure, an uncontroversial man to lead the government as a caretaker premier until the autumn.

The other possible action — selection of a powerful party man with an established track record on policy and personnel questions — would risk starting up the party feud again.

In the past, the Liberal Democrats have been able to use parliament as a rubber stamp, as they had large working majorities in both houses until the mid-1970s. But these were whittled away in elections in 1974, 1976 and 1979 so that the party has effective majorities, with the support of conservative independents, of a little more than 10 in each chamber.

So the outcome of the coming elections may influence the conservative tactics. If the Liberal Democrats fail to maintain their working majorities, which is a possibility, then they may be obliged to take in a coalition partner such as the moderate Democratic Socialist Party or the small New Liberal Club for the first time in their 25-year history.

The elections will also influence the choice of a new premier in another way, as they may alter the delicate balance of the five main factions in the party led respectively by former premiers Kakuei Tanaka, Takeo Fukuda, Takeo Miki, and by Yasuhiro Nakasone and by Mr. Ohira's successor as faction leader. Each of the largest factions — those of Mr. Tanaka, Mr. Fukuda, Mr. Ohira and Mr. Nakasone — has 40 to 50 supporters in the lower house, the most powerful of the two legislative chambers, while Mr. Miki has around 30.

The most powerful of these five groups appears to be Mr. Tanaka's, but he is hindered by his ongoing trial as main defendant in the Lockheed influence-buying scandal.

Possible caretaker premiers are said to include Shigesaburo Maeo, a close Ohira associate; Kiichi Miyazawa, an independent conservative who had loose ties to Mr. Ohira and belonged to his faction; and Hiroki Nishida. The regular biennial Liberal Democratic convention will be held later in the year, and it must vote for a party leader, who is also premier as long as the Liberal Democrats control parliament.

It has taken many years for power to slip away from the Liberal Democrats. But since the mid-1970s such parties as Ryosaku Sasaki's Democratic Socialist Party and the Buddhist Komeito under Yoshikatsu Takei have scented the possibility of a coalition government. The ultimate question is whether the recent advance of these parties — and a newly revived Communist Party under veteran leader Kenji Miyamoto — will be halted on June 22, or whether they will eat away a little more at the conservative monopoly on power.

Whoever becomes premier, and whether the next administration is a coalition or not, the impact on policies — the basic Japanese government foreign policy since 1945 has been alliance with the United States — is likely to be small. Even the Socialist Party, in the improbable event that the largest opposition group led a coalition, would be unlikely to make big policy changes. That is because policies in Japan are consensus politics, and the test for the ruling party is whether it can shelve its disputes and follow a Japanese belief that consensus is the cardinal rule in politics.

NEWS ANALYSIS

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Members of the Mujahedin, a leftist movement, run from teargas thrown by government troops after a rally by the group in a Tehran stadium ended in rioting. There were at least 300 injuries.

Few Said to Remain, Despite U.S. Reports

Iran Embassy Seems Empty of Hostages

By Stuart Auerbach

TEHRAN, June 11 (WP) — The U.S. Embassy looked desolate yesterday, with none of the constant crowd that had stood watch outside in past months and few signs of activity inside the compound. Revolutionary guardsmen, looking bored, sat with automatic rifles behind sandbags, with beach umbrellas to protect them from the noon sun.

It looked, in fact, like an empty embassy — providing mute evidence that most of the 30 American hostages seized Nov. 4 have indeed been moved after the aborted U.S. rescue attempt 48 days ago, as their militant captors claimed.

Most diplomats in Tehran believe that few, if any, of the hostages remain in the embassy compound. But very few people — including former government officials — are certain how widely the hostages are spread through the country.

The militants said the hostages were shifted to locations in 14 other cities. While some doubt that they are that widely scattered, few observers believe intelligence reports from Washington that most of the hostages remain on the embassy grounds.

"Unless the CIA has been checking the food going in and the garbage going out, or analyzing the amount of laundry or the water and sewage, I don't know how they can think most of the hostages have not been moved," said a usually well-informed Asian diplomat. "All evidence we know points the other way. It is possible there is a good deal of disinformation built into the list of 14 (cities), but they are in at least four or five other cities."

Secret Moves

The moves were carried out secretly in late April and early May, and announced by the captors only after they said the transfers had taken place.

Two American clergymen — John Walsh and Charles Kimball — who visited the militants at the embassy last week, after seeing them in December, said they seemed more relaxed now. This observation gave weight to diplomats' belief that most of the hostages had been moved.

Two of the transfers were seen by outsiders. A foreign pilot under contract to Iran said four hostages, tied and blindfolded, were brought aboard his flight to Meshed in northeastern Iran. He told friends that he refused to fly the plane until the blindfolds and ropes were removed, because of international safety regulations.

Iranians who work in an office across from the embassy said they saw a number of the hostages loaded into vans to be taken away.

The best guess in Tehran is that the hostages are certainly in Meshed; Qom; Tabriz, the chief city of the northwestern Azerbaijan region; Isfahan, in west-central Iran; and Shiraz, in southwestern Iran.

House Arrest

In addition, three U.S. diplomats are known to be under virtual house arrest in the Foreign Ministry in Tehran. They live in a suite on the third floor next to the office of Foreign Minister Sadegh Ghotbzadeh.

Other cities where the militants said they had sent hostages were Mahallat, Arak, Gorgan, Hamadan, Ghazvin, Yazd, Najafabad and Jahrom.

Observers in Tehran believe the militants moved the hostages to their home towns — most of them same to Tehran from other parts of the country — where they have close political and family ties. Because most of the militants still are together, however, some think the

hostages were not scattered as widely as their captors claim.

But a militant spokesman was reported to have told friends in Tehran, with a knowing grin, that he could not see them as much as he used to because he is constantly traveling.

Reports Say Scores Killed By Cambodian Guerrillas

PHNOM PENH, June 12 (UPI) — Cambodian guerrillas ambushed a crowded train and killed hundreds of passengers in the most spectacular attack of their month-old offensive against the Vietnamese-backed Phnom Penh regime, survivors said today.

They said that between 150 and 200 persons were killed in the daylight attack Tuesday near Srok Ek Romeas, 42 miles (67 kilometers) northwest of the capital.

At least 200 wounded, most in serious condition, were brought to Phnom Penh's already overburdened hospitals and doctors appealed for tents to shelter the overflow. More than 100 others who suffered lighter injuries were taken to clinics in the provincial capital of Kompong Cham.

The 70-car train was carrying an estimated 8,000 passengers, mostly black market traders returning to Phnom Penh after buying goods along the Thai frontier.

Government officials maintained silence on the attack and Vietnamese advisers in the capital called the reports "ridiculous rumor."

The Vietnamese-installed government of Heng Samrin has consistently denied that there are guerrillas loyal to deposed Khmer Rouge government operating inside Cambodia. The government insists that the rebels exist only in sanctuaries inside Thailand.

Witnesses said that the traders were crowded inside the boxcars and also hanging on the outside of

the wagons "like flies, so thick you could hardly see the train."

Survivors said that 10 guerrillas, apparently Khmer Rouge members, fired B-40 rockets to disable the train's steam locomotive. The engine burst into flames, killing both engineers and dozens of people riding the lead car.

The guerrillas then began shooting those riding atop the cars and bayoneted those who tried to flee, witnesses said. The firing continued for several minutes while the traders were forced to hand over their goods.

The guerrillas fled, a woman survivor said, when a combined force of Cambodian and Vietnamese troops arrived at the scene.

Offensive Announced

Khmer Rouge forces, estimated to number about 25,000 under arms, early last month announced the start of a rainy season offensive against the estimated 200,000 Vietnamese troops who have occupied Cambodia since January, 1979.

Operating in bands of five to 10 men, the guerrillas have steadily increased their countryside attacks, mainly on bridges, isolated army outposts and truck convoys of international aid rice.

Riots Flare In Tehran

(Continued from Page 1)

been discussed during his talks with leaders of the Socialist International. "There has never been talked about the release of the hostages here and certainly not the timetable for that because it was not the object of my presence here," he said.

Iran and Iraq each have ordered the expulsion of two diplomats of the other country, and the Iraqis have already left for home, the Iranian Foreign Ministry said today.

A Foreign Ministry spokesman, Mahmoud Hashemi, said that the two Iraqis, whom he did not identify, were detained Tuesday night on a Tehran street after another man handed them "some documents against Iran."

Yesterday, two Iranian diplomats were ordered to leave Iraq within 48 hours, without being accused of any offense, the spokesman said.

The Iraqis, who also were not identified, were later detained by Iraqi police. They complained after being released that they had been beaten, Mr. Hashemi said.

WORLD NEWS BRIEF

2 French Agents Face Suspended Swiss Ter

ZURICH, June 11 (Reuters) — The Zurich public prosecutor said he would ask for suspended prison sentences and fines against two P. customs officers arrested in Switzerland on April 15 on charges of economic espionage.

The two officers, who were investigating the flight of capital France to Switzerland, will also be charged with illegal activity for sign state and violating Swiss banking secrecy laws.

The prosecutor said he would ask a suspended 10-month prison term and a fine of 5,000 Swiss francs (about \$3,000) for Bernard Rul, 31; five-month prison sentence, also suspended, and a fine of 2,000 francs (about \$1,200) for Pierre Schultz, 51.

Qadhafi Calls Temporary End to Death Ri

ROME, June 12 (UPI) — Libyan leader Moammar Qadhafi, bowing to European outrage, has called for a qualified halt to the a of his death squads but not before they claimed two more victims in I

The Libyan news agency IANA yesterday quoted Col. Qadhafi as ing, "All commando campaigns against Libyans living abroad thro the world should stop until they are proved by the revolutionary coe be guilty of collaborating with the United States, Israel or Egypt."

Col. Qadhafi's orders came hours after members of death squads Mohammed Azzein Lamheri in Milan — the ninth Libyan killed rope and the fifth in Italy in the past 10 weeks — and shot Mohamed in Rome. These were the first attacks since the expiration of a m Tuesday deadline that Col. Qadhafi set for his exiles to return home "revolutionary justice."

China Frees Catholic Bishop After 22 Yea

PEKING, June 12 (Reuters) — Bishop Deng Yiming of Canton refused to break with the Vatican when a government-backed C Catholic Church was set up, has been freed after 22 years in prison, believed to be the first jailed Roman Catholic bishop to be set free.

Monday's edition of Canton's Yansheng Evening News, reevely Peking tonight, said Bishop Deng, 72, had repented of his "cris undergone re-education." The bishop, better known as Monsignor De Tang, was arrested in February, 1958, on charges of counterrevolution activity, including a charge of accepting his post from the Holy See.

He was also accused of having prevented young Catholics from j Chinese "volunteers" units to fight in the Korean War, and was ch with threatening excommunication for Catholics who joined the g ment-backed Catholic Association, set up in 1957.

Anti-Immigrant Fighting Kills 315 in Indi

NEW DELHI, June 12 (Reuters) — More than 300 persons have d six days of fighting between tribesmen and immigrants in Tripura and the area remains tense, Home Minister Zail Singh told Paris today. After a tour of the region yesterday, he called the fighting a a

There were fears in Tripura that the death toll could be higher the 315 counted so far, Mr. Singh told Parliament. Immigrants account percent of the state's population of 1.5 million, reducing the tribesm an ethnic, cultural and political minority.

IRA Resumes Threats Against Prison Gua

BELFAST, June 12 (Reuters) — Guerrillas of the Provisional I republican Army said today that they were resuming at acks on No Ireland prison guards, 18 of whom have been killed since 1970.

The IRA said it was reopening the campaign of violence because authorities had not improved conditions for 300 Irish Republican prisoners at Long Kesh prison near Belfast. The 300 men, who say should be treated as political prisoners, refuse to wear prison uniform, live naked in their cells.

The guerrilla group said today that it shot and wounded a prison c Tuesday. Prison guards in Northern Ireland are also under threat fi Protestant guerrilla organization, the Ulster Freedom Fighters, for al ly mistreating Protestants awaiting trial for guerrilla offenses. It b ready wounded one prison officer.

15 UN Soldiers Seized by Rightist Lebanes

METULLAH, Israel, June 12 (Reuters) — Rightist militiamen sei United Nations soldiers after an exchange of small-arms fire in s Lebanon today, militia and UN sources said.

Militiamen told reporters in this Israeli border town that nobod hurt in the shooting. Twelve of the soldiers were released two hours UN sources said three Dutch soldiers were still being held by the nigh

The militiamen said the incident occurred after a UN armored per carrier failed to stop at one of their roadblocks near UN headqu coastal village of Naqoura.

Saudi Arabian Stance Remains Unclear

(Continued from Page 1)

The deal that was eventually made places Iran at that position. Iran's oil, which is a greatly reduced factor in the marketplace because of the disorganization of Iran's oil fields and because of the West's boycott of Iranian exports, is being offered at \$35 a barrel. That is theoretically \$3 more than the new "ceiling" price of \$32 set for the nearly identical Arabian light crude produced just across the Persian Gulf in Saudi Arabia.

But no one expects anything but market forces to persuade Iran to lower its prices.

Sheikh Yamani described the outcome of this latest quarterly OPEC ministers conference as being "not really an agreement," and his criticism made plain he did not feel he was very closely listened to by most of his 12 colleagues.

Iraq, Qatar and Kuwait all announced increases of \$2 a barrel from their present levels of about \$30, effective July 1. Only the United Arab Emirates announced it would not raise its price.

Sheikh Yamani said he saw very strong downward pressures on prices. He predicted that the oil companies soon would have to start selling off their record-level oil stockpiles because it is costing them \$6 a barrel a year to store the crude and they are losing money if the price does not rise more than \$6 a year.

Sheikh Yamani also sounded less categorical than Tuesday ab

fusing to cut back Saudi prod from its present 9.5 million l a day. While he still main that Saudi Arabia would ne back until there is reunificat prices, he said his country not maintain its present prod forever.

He predicted that total production would be down to by average of 25 million to lion barrels a day in the thir ter of this year after having million barrels in the first qua

The implication was that Arabia might eventually cu duction to meet the target OPEC's experts reported ministers here would be eliminate surpluses. This ex has been giving the world o ket a flexibility it has rarely since prices were quinqu 1974.

Decision Criticized

NEW YORK, June 12 (The OPEC decision has b tacked by top government in the United States, Enro Japan.

U.S. Energy Secretary Dumsan yesterday called the decision irresponsible and unjustified. kyo, Bank of Japan Gov. Mayekawa said the OPEC could raise Japanese prices crease the country's oil-fue deficit, which reached \$1.9 in April.

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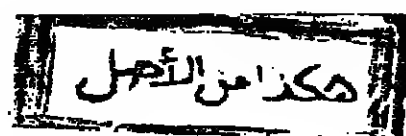
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Bid to Avoid Kennedy, Carter Battle

Democrats Said to Agree on Platform Plan

By Robert G. Kaiser
WASHINGTON, June 11 (UPI) — The Carter and Kennedy camps have agreed in principle on a plan for dividing up seats on a key drafting subcommittee whose 15 members would then write a compromise Democratic Party platform, sources in the Carter campaign said yesterday.

If this plan holds up, the two factions in the party would work out their differences in time to complete a mutually acceptable party platform by June 24, long before the Democratic National Convention, which begins Aug. 11.

This would mean the Democrats could avoid an embarrassing and divisive platform fight at the convention. However, a compromise platform could be expected to depart in some ways from Carter administration policies.

A key aide to Sen. Edward Kennedy said last night that final details of this plan remained to be worked out. He said a key issue was the degree to which Sen. Kennedy agreed to be committed by the platform that is eventually approved.

Paul Kirk, director of the Kennedy campaign, said he would meet today with Richard Moe, Vice President Mondale's principal political aide, to try to work out details and membership of the drafting committee. Mr. Kirk said Mr. Moe had proposed a committee composed of nine backers to President Carter.

West Germany to Postpone Trial On War Crimes for New Evidence

DUESSELDORF, June 12 (UPI) — West Germany's longest Nazi war-crimes trial, involving a New York woman and eight other persons, will be delayed for several months to gather more evidence, the judge announced this week.

The trial of the former guards at the Maidanek concentration camp in Poland, including Mrs. Hermine Braunsteiner Ryan, accused of assisting in the murders of about 250,000 prisoners between 1941 and 1944, has dragged on almost five years.

Judges and lawyers have made

five Kennedy supporters and one person acceptable to both camps. Mr. Kirk said he would ask for a larger representation for the Kennedy camp.

Positions Conflict

The Carter campaign argues that the committee should reflect the

number of delegates committed to the president and Sen. Kennedy. According to the latest delegate count by United Press International, Mr. Carter will have 59 percent of the delegates at the convention. Nine out of 15 members of the drafting committee would be 60 percent.

Mr. Kirk said the offer of five seats to the Kennedy camp was not an act of generosity, but "the least they could offer" given the results of the primaries and caucuses.

Bloody Fight

Ultimately, sources in both camps agreed, the prospects for avoiding a bloody platform fight would depend on Sen. Kennedy's determination to press his differences with Mr. Carter. The two sharply disagree on numerous basic issues, and there seems little prospect that President Carter would accept many of Mr. Kennedy's specific positions that flatly contradict his own.

Both sides hope to work out the membership of the drafting subcommittee before tomorrow, when the full platform committee is scheduled to convene in Washington to hear testimony from the Kennedy and Carter campaigns, as well as from numerous Democratic members of Congress.

Jordan Is Moved To N.Y. Hospital

FORT WAYNE, Ind., June 12 (AP) — Civil rights leader Vernon Jordan Jr., shot in the back by an unknown sniper May 29, left Parkview Memorial Hospital by ambulance today for a flight to New York.

Earlier, James Williams, a National Urban League spokesman in New York, said Mr. Jordan, president of the Urban League, would be flown to New York Hospital to continue his recovery. He said that Mr. Jordan was still in serious condition but improved "to the extent that he can be moved."

The ambulance was escorted by police cars to the airport, where a medical evacuation plane was waiting. In Washington, a White House spokesman said President Carter had provided the plane at the Urban League's request.

A Reporter's Brush With Bolivia's Military

By Charles A. Krause

LA PAZ, June 11 (UPI) — When it was all over, she told me in perfect English that for more than two years her job had been to read whatever I wrote about Bolivia. She also warned me that I should be careful. "This," she said with a smile, "would be no way to end your career as a journalist."

That was about 8:30 Monday night, two-and-a-half hours after five army intelligence agents, one of them armed with a submachine gun, arrived at my hotel in La Paz to take me in for questioning.

As I sat in the small interrogation room, faced by two inquisitors and a typist who kept trying to change my answers, I was told that I was under arrest for national security reasons.

Bolivia has a civilian government with constitutional guarantees, and things like this are not supposed to happen. But every day this country is more of a police state. The military does what it pleases. Monday night, they got around to me.

During the episode, which lasted nearly three hours, I was never threatened physically. The machine gun was, however, pointed directly at my stomach during the 15-minute ride from the hotel to army intelligence headquarters, and the interrogation room was equipped with torture apparatus.

Tired of Refusal

Only once did my inquisitors get particularly angry. An officer whom U.S. diplomats later identified as a Maj. Villaroel warned me at one point that he was getting tired of my refusal to answer questions about sources for an article I had written last week. In the article, I quoted informed observers as predicting an imminent military coup.

I responded that if the major were tired of me, he could take me back to my hotel, since I had not requested this interview. He replied with an ominous smile: "Oh, no, you won't be going back to your hotel right away. After we're finished here, you'll be having dinner with us."

I understood him. Before leaving the hotel, I had grabbed a sweater from my room. I had assumed I would be spending the night somewhere cold.

When Maj. Villaroel arrived at my hotel at about 5:45 p.m. Monday, I was in the lobby on my way to the taxi machine to send the last part of an article about a government crisis that has developed. The story was a follow-up to an article saying that the U.S. Embassy and Ambassador Marvin Weissman had been involved in attempting to thwart a military coup May 30.

The military high command had demanded Mr. Weissman's ouster from Bolivia, saying he had acted like an "imperial viceroy" and had overstepped the bounds of his diplomatic

position by intervening against the planned coup. At the same time, the military denied that it had been planning a coup, and claimed that Mr. Weissman had done nothing to thwart one.

At the hotel, Maj. Villaroel identified himself as a reporter with Aquil, a local newspaper, and asked to interview me. I asked him to wait 10 minutes. When I returned to the lobby he dropped the journalist guise, flashed a

anyone, met me at the airport and when sent my telexes. The central theme became vicious. They wanted to know to whom I spoke, specifically to which Bolivian politicians, to which journalists, to which foreigners. I kept waiting for the major to ask me had spoken to Mr. Weissman.

But the question never came. Maybe major was already angry, and realized he was not getting anywhere. My standard answer was, "For professional reasons, I cannot respond to that question."

I did agree to describe the already published article I had written, although I suggested that the best thing they could do would be to ask their embassy in Washington for a copy. Neither the major nor the woman in that much.

The atmosphere began to change at about p.m. when a young cadet came in. Maj. Villaroel smiled and told me, "Your embassy, inquiring about you."

I later learned that the embassy had moved very quickly. They were in contact almost immediately with the Interior Ministry, which denied that it had ordered my detention where I was. The embassy demanded that the ministry find out if I had been picked up by one of the security services. By 7 p.m., the ministry had confirmed that I was the hands of army intelligence.

By about 8:30 p.m., the inquisition was over. I signed five copies of the typed transcript, reading each copy carefully and checking parts that the typist still had wrong. I last question was whether I had been physically abused. I still didn't know if we were being for "dinner" or the hotel, so I responded "As of now, I have not been mistreated."

Suddenly Cordial

The atmosphere suddenly became more cordial. The officer who had ordered interrogation came in smiling. He read transcript and asked what may have been question he really wanted answered: "Do you have any friends or sources in the military?"

"No," I said. "Unfortunately, I don't have asked for interviews with the military but they have always been refused."

"Well," he said, "now you know where come."

By 8:45 p.m., I was back at my hotel. By radios in La Paz were reporting my arrest and release. Yesterday morning, an account what had happened appeared in Presencia, Paz's most important newspaper.

Instead of being frightened, several Bolivian friends stopped by to see me yesterday morning. People called to invite me to dinner, knowing full well that my phone was almost certainly tapped.

"They made a terrible mistake arrest you," said a Bolivian whom I know well. "People I have talked to are outraged."

Every day this country is more of a police state. The military does what it pleases. Monday night, they got around to me.

Ministry of Interior identification badge and told me I was wanted for questioning.

I insisted on calling the U.S. Embassy before leaving. He insisted that I come immediately, saying I could call the embassy once I got to the ministry. Four other men were now in the lobby, and other guests were moving toward the elevators. One of the receptionists quickly dialed the U.S. Embassy number, and I managed to grab the phone and tell the Marine guard who I was and what was happening before the major cut the connection.

I had never been to the ministry before, but I knew, when the jeep entered a heavily guarded compound, that that was not where I had been taken. I noted the only identifying sign inside the complex: the National Geographic Institute of the Army.

On the second floor of one of the buildings inside the compound, I was ushered into the office of a uniformed officer. He got right down to business: "You wrote the article saying there was a coup planned in Bolivia. You're the cause of all the trouble."

I started to explain that the article simply reported what I had been told, but the officer was not interested. He ordered Maj. Villaroel to take me away for questioning.

Answers Changed

The major led me to a nearby interrogating room, where we were joined by the woman who later would warn me to be careful, and by a male typist who would listen to what I said in Spanish, change key phrases, read back what he had written, and then get exasperated when I told him that what he had written was not correct.

Maj. Villaroel wanted to know when I had entered Bolivia and on which flight, who, if

Reagan Says He'd Resign Presidency if Health Fails

(Continued from Page 1)

responses in the course of his examinations.

"He was very alert and appropriate in mood," Dr. Reynolds said.

Mr. Reagan has had an annual checkup since 1957, and his last full examination was done in January, 1979, at St. John's Hospital in Santa Monica, Calif., his doctors said. At that time an exercise treadmill test showed no evidence of coronary artery disease that might predispose him to a heart attack, they said.

Dr. Reynolds said that he did a more limited examination last October in his Beverly Hills office when Mr. Reagan increased the benefits of an insurance policy.

The six doctors said that Mr. Reagan's medical problems were few and minor, such as hay fever, for which he takes shots about three times a month, and moderate hearing loss in both ears that does not require a hearing aid. They said that he appeared younger than his age, and all the doctors said that there was no medical reason why he could not take on the duties of president.

Mr. Reagan said that he had never consulted a psychiatrist and had never had plastic surgery. He said that he took no drugs other than vitamins each day and an occasional

antihistamine pill. His doctors said that they had not prescribed any tranquilizers or other mood-altering drugs.

Vice President's Role

Mr. Reagan said he had not yet considered a specific plan of how his vice president would take over the presidential duties in the event he became medically incapacitated.

He referred to the 25th Amendment, ratified in 1967, which states that a president may inform Congress in writing that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, enabling the vice president to become acting president until the president tells Congress that he can resume his duties.

Also, the vice president becomes acting president if the vice president and a majority of the principal officers of the executive department inform Congress that the president is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office.

Concern about the possibility of Mr. Reagan becoming senile as president stems from two factors — his age and his statement that his brother was senile for a few years before he died at 80 of a stroke as a complication of arteriosclerosis.

Senility — or senile dementia — is a disorder of unknown cause that strikes with increasing frequency as individuals advance in years toward their 80s and beyond. The hereditary pattern, if any exists, is known.

Mr. Reagan has a statistical probability of living to years, according to the National Center for Health Statistics.

Most doctors do not speak test for signs of senility in examinations of 69-year-old clients unless requested to do so by the patient or relatives or if the doctor detects unusual responses.

Mr. Reagan said that illness in his family were the prime reason that he did not smoke cigarettes, drink more than an occasional cocktail or glass of wine. His brother suffered several heart attacks. He died of an attack at age 60. Reagan attributed his father's disease to his smoking three cigarettes a day and sul from "the Irish curse," or alcoholism.

The Republican presidential candidate attributed his favorable status to regular exercise and ing his weight at 165 pounds.

After 10 minutes of exercise in April, 1979, Dr. Richard of Santa Monica said, Mr. Reagan heart rate reached 155 beats a minute, or 100 percent of the maximum predicted value for a man his age. Dr. Taw said the test had "absolutely no evidence of coronary artery disease" and that "his performance was surprising to me."

Cardiologists consider the test of such an exercise test abnormal specific in ruling out coronary artery disease.

Mr. Reagan's most serious medical problem apparently prostate operation in 1967.

Soviet A-Test Register

UPPSALA, Sweden. Jur (Reuters) — The Swedish Institute here today recorded a 100,000-ton nuclear explosion the Soviet testing site at Semipalatinsk, western Siberia, in a spokesman said. It registered the Richter scale.

White House Chief of Staff Shifts to Carter Campaign

By Martin Schram and Margor Hornblower

WASHINGTON, June 12 (UPI) — President Carter named White House aide Jack Watson as his interim chief of staff yesterday to replace Hamilton Jordan, who is taking a leave of absence to direct the president's re-election campaign strategy.

White House press secretary Jody Powell said in announcing the change that Mr. Watson will have the same range of responsibility and authority as Mr. Jordan had, including active involvement in foreign policy. He added that Mr. Watson had the president's "full confidence."

Mr. Watson, 42, has served as presidential assistant for intergovernmental relations and secretary to the Cabinet. Mr. Powell made clear that Mr. Watson would serve as chief of staff only during Mr. Jordan's absence during the campaign.

In making the shifts, Mr. Carter is putting his political house in order for the fall campaign season. Mr. Jordan's move to the campaign

committees means that I now spend full time doing what I have previously done part time planning and putting into Mr. Carter's strategy for re-election.

On the Carter-Mondale campaign committee, Mr. Jordan will have the title of deputy chairman, and Tim Kiri will serve as campaign manager. Mr. Jordan clearly will be among equals, by virtue of the fact that he personally is the close personal friend and that he mapped the strategy for Carter's 1976 and 1980 campaigns.

The president was concerned about Mr. Jordan's inability to vote full time to campaign, while remaining as chief of "Hamilton's attention would completely on the campaign one top adviser." In the House, the problems just seem to come to his door — from even right down to White House (dining room) privileges.

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A CONFERENCE SPONSORED BY THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE AND THE OIL DAILY
ROYAL LANCASTER HOTEL, LONDON, JUNE 19 & 20, 1980

Dr. Henry Kissinger, former U.S. Secretary of State, will discuss "International Politics and Oil" in the opening address of an International Herald Tribune/Oil Daily conference on "The Energy Emergency: Oil and Money, 1980," to be held June 19 and 20 in London.

Maurice Strong, Chairman of the International Energy Development Corp., and Ulf Lantzke, Executive Director of the International Energy Agency, will also be featured speakers at this two-day working seminar designed for senior executives involved in energy, finance and closely related fields.

The outlook for supply and demand will be presented by Adnan Janabi, Head of OPEC's Department of Economics and Finance, and by Hermon Fronssen, Chief Economist designate of the IEA. John Lichtblau, Executive Director of the Petroleum Industry Research Foundation, will moderate the session.

Heads of three major oil companies, Abdulhady Taher of Petromin, Herbert Goodman of Gulf and Marcello Caliti of

ENI, will discuss oil market strategies for the 1980's. Frank Ickard, former President of the American Petroleum Institute, will chair their discussion.

The conflicts—and possible areas of agreement—on recycling surpluses will be examined by Taki Rifai of B.A.I.L., Kevin Pakenham of Amex Bank Limited and Nobumitsu Kagami of Nomura Research Institute.

A major session will also be devoted to the financing of future energy needs, with presentations by Nureddin Farrag, Chief Executive of Arab Petroleum Investments Corp., Howard Macdonald, Group Treasurer of Royal Dutch/Shell, Harald Hammer, Vice-President of Chase Manhattan Bank's Petroleum Division, Javier Perez Piquon of Nacional Financiera de Mexico and Frank Zarb, Partner, Lazard Freres, New York and former Director of the U.S. Federal Energy Agency.

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هكذا من الأشهر

OPEC's Levitation Act

The 57th OPEC magicians' convention has come to a rousing end in Algiers. Those light-hearted masters of legerdemain who turn oil into dollars faster than you can say Sheikh Yamani have once again demonstrated that words are slipperier than crude. First you see the marker price and then you don't. The Libyans hold out the new agreement for your inspection, but when you move up to take a closer look, it's gone. The sleight-of-hand artist from Iran will show you anything you want to see. Have you watched the newsmen try to juggle the words the oil ministers toss in the air? Benchmark, marker, base, average, ceiling, surcharge — they turn into doves or disappear in puffs of smoke. What goes up doesn't come down.

And that goes for prices, too. Is there anyone, including the Saudi oil minister, who thought that hawks such as the Algerians and Libyans would trim their prices in the interest of unity? They have proved over and over again that they view each Saudi effort to unify prices as an opportunity to raise them.

The OPEC members may not be able to agree on prices, or production, but they certainly know how to transmute illusions into headlines. They have established a base price that is not a base price and a ceiling that is

not a ceiling. The ministers contradict each other and the press reports compound the contradictions. The only consistent element is that oil is going to cost more.

But the gap between the highest OPEC price and the lowest will remain about the same, and in three months the ministers will meet again to talk about prices. Between now and then, if precedents mean anything, several things will happen. Prices will rise more, the West will be advised on pain of production cutbacks not to add to its stockpiles — especially U.S. strategic stockpiles — and the Saudis will raise their prices either because U.S. oil companies have not been passing on to consumers savings from purchases of relatively cheap Saudi oil or because they say they are trying still again to unify the OPEC price. There probably also will be an effort to raise gas prices to the level of oil prices.

When the prestidigitators gather for their 58th conclave in September, they may have a few new tricks up their fustian sleeves, but whatever cards they choose to play, it seems safe to conclude that harmony won't be their strong suit. That shouldn't spoil the beautiful illusion, though, that something happened.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE.

Muskie's Mideast Debut

Two tasks faced the new secretary of state, Edmund Muskie, when he turned to the Mideast talks, the lone high-ticket negotiation in which the United States is engaged. He had to defend the integrity of the Camp David process against assault from the European allies, and to restart the Egyptian-Israeli talks on Palestinian autonomy. Both of these things he now has done with a directness that identifies him with the fate of the negotiations and that banishes any suggestion that the United States might stall until either the American or the Israeli elections have passed.

In responding to the Europeans on Monday, Mr. Muskie held to the high ground, making no insinuations of the sort that have rubbed Atlantic relations raw in recent months. Instead, he asked Europeans to limit themselves to new initiatives that would further rather than impede the Camp David process. For the first time in a negotiation, he observed, the tough issues regarding Israeli-Palestinian coexistence are being approached; to open up a new negotiating process would merely force the parties eventually to confront the same issues under less promising conditions. If any Europeans were waiting for a reasoned, respectable American argument against Europe's going it alone, Mr. Muskie supplied it.

Mr. Muskie added a brass-tacks approach to the Egyptian-Israeli talks on Palestinian

autonomy, now set to resume in Washington late this month. He made no departures from the administration's Camp David line. Responding, however, to the Israeli government's recent announcement of a cap on settlements — it said it plans just 10 more ones — the secretary said simply and sharply that to plant new settlements runs counter to the purpose of negotiations. He called on both Egypt and Israel to create a climate favorable to negotiation, and he drew attention to the outstanding issues. In respect to the "most critical" of these, security, he defined a U.S. compromise position with new public clarity. His remarks left little doubt of his readiness to push the pace of talks and to speak out forthrightly about them.

Let's be clear: Few people now think Mr. Begin, with his beliefs and constituents and troubles, can lead Israel to agreement on autonomy. But whether he can or not, and whether he stays or goes, there is plenty of substantive negotiating to be done to prepare the issues for later resolution. In any event, if the talks go nowhere, the up-front Muskie style ensures that the public will know where to fix the blame. By accepting a responsibility to make Camp David work, the new secretary and the administration court a certain risk in this election year. But the larger risk would be to let the issue slide.

THE WASHINGTON POST.

The Way Many Talked

Few things have changed more radically in the lifetime of Americans over 40 than the legal definition of obscenity. Until the 1950s, important works by reputable writers had to be smuggled into the United States — such items as Lawrence's "Lady Chatterley's Lover" and even Nabokov's "Invitation to a Beheading" — and even Nabokov's "Invitation to a Beheading" and the most widely smuggled books were the novels of Henry Miller, who was clearly, almost proudly, disreputable.

For a generation of American students, buying paperback copies of Mr. Miller's works was as much a Parisian rite as having a *café filtre* at Les Deux Magots in the hope of glimpsing some famous existentialist. How carefully these volumes were wrapped in deceptive dust jackets, so that U.S. Customs would not encounter "Tropic of Cancer." All the fun went out of the game when the courts decided in 1964 that Mr. Miller had redeeming social value after all.

As America changed, so did Henry Miller. The laureate of expatriate deadbeats evolved from satyr into sage, a benign father figure in the joy of sex revolution. He was interviewed on television; his novels became the solemn stuff of dissertations; his Big Sur home became a tourist attraction, impelling him to move to a Los Angeles suburb. Fame proved the ultimate four-letter word.

George Orwell said that Henry Miller wrote the way many ordinary people talked. Like them, Miller shrugged off the contradictions of life. He saw reality from what Orwell called "inside the whale." But by the time he died at the age of 88, Miller's loathing of politics and his celebration of private passions had become a middle-class commonplace. The whale had been turned inside out, which may be more startling than anything in Mr. Miller's gamy oeuvre.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Trucks, Tariffs, Tactics

The U.S. tariff on small imported trucks leaped up the other day from 4 percent to 25 percent. The United States had imposed the 25-percent duty in the 1960s, aiming at Volkswagen, which then shipped small trucks to the United States. A decade later, Japanese manufacturers were shipping small trucks in parts — chassis and cab — to be bolted together in America. Duty on truck parts is only 4 percent. Labor unions and some manufacturers squawked, and the Customs Service decided that a chassis is, in fact, a truck. The duty automatically went up.

All three U.S. automakers have been importing small Japanese trucks and selling them under their own names. The only com-

pact trucks actually produced in the United States are made by — yes, indeed — Volkswagen, in its U.S. plant. The firm that was originally the target of the high duty is now its only beneficiary, and the three firms supposedly protected are now paying it.

Mr. Carter has the authority to reduce the 25-percent duty by two-thirds. That would please the Japanese and outrage the unions. If he does nothing, he will please the unions but penalize consumers. The best thing is to offer to negotiate with Tokyo. If it wants the truck duty lightened, what trade concessions is it willing to make?

THE WASHINGTON POST.

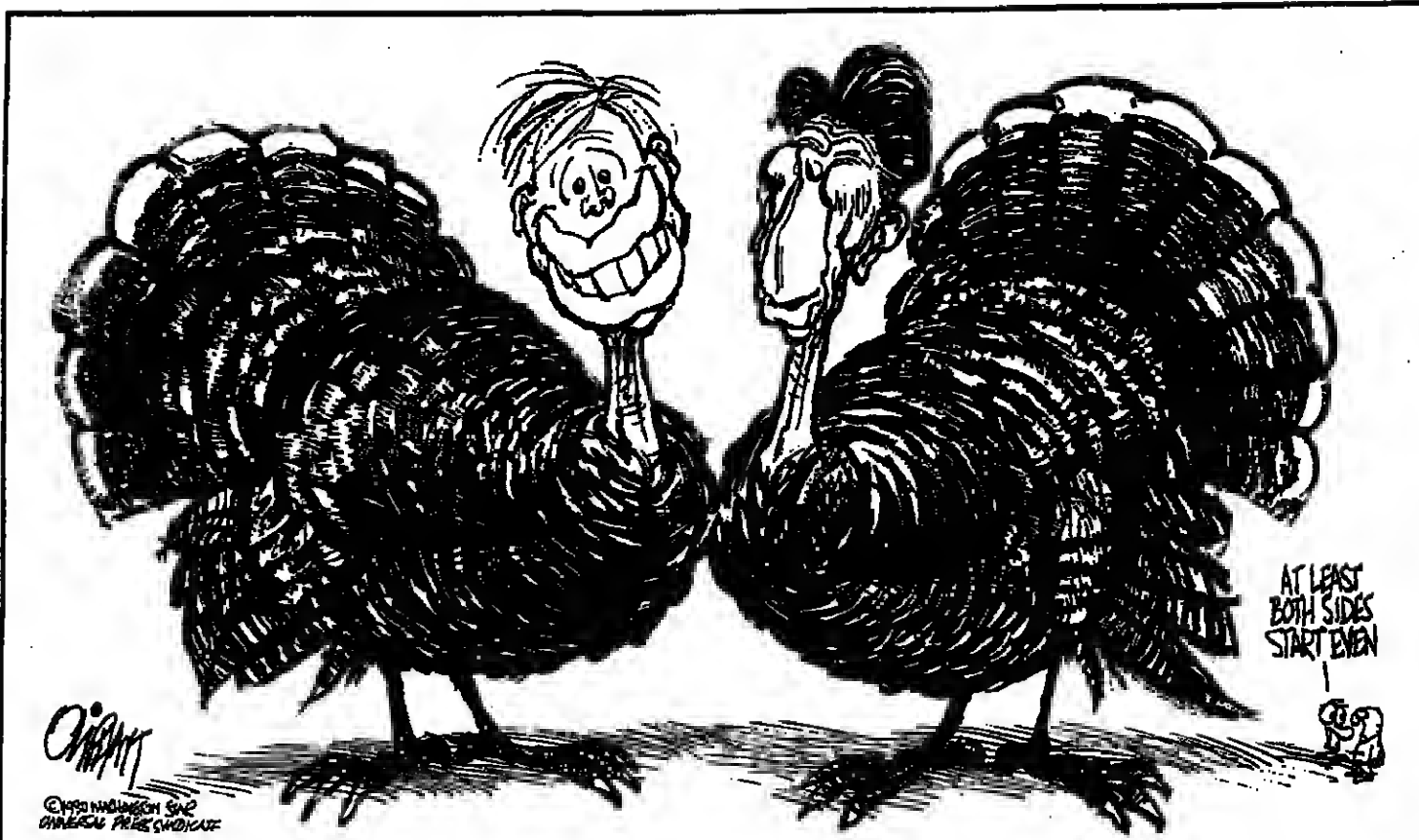
In the International Edition

Seventy-Five Years Ago
June 13, 1905

MILAN — Some time ago an Italian named Benedetti took out a patent for a bullet-proof breastplate, to exploit which he obtained the support of a Milanese bank. The Russian government ordered a hundred thousand of the breastplates for the Manchurian Army, but failed to secure delivery. It has now transpired that the Benedetti "bullet-proof breastplate" is a colossal international swindle. It appears that the breastplate is not bullet-proof, notwithstanding the "conclusive experiments" carried out in this city in the presence of military authorities and journalists. The judicial authorities have lately been investigating the activities of the syndicate and have arrested its secretary.

Fifty Years Ago
June 13, 1930

WASHINGTON — Short skirts and the use of silk rather than wool make the modern woman's costume twice as noisy as her grandmother's, according to a report by the U.S. Bureau of Standards and Measurements laid before the Acoustical Society of America recently. Inability to absorb sound explains why the chic 1930 ensemble fails to keep the house as quiet as the trailing skirts of other years would have done. Twenty years ago a woman's clothes absorbed a quantity of sound similar to that which escapes through a window 4.7 feet square. Today a woman's clothes absorb only 2.2 square feet of noise. Scanty silk garments tend to reverberate noise waves that strike them.



Professional Amateurs: Wanted or Not?

By Meg Greenfield

WASHINGTON — If we are going to spend the next five months detesting the candidates for president, we should at least try to make the best of the emotion. It needs guidelines, it needs structure, it needs purpose — in short, it needs redeeming social value. How can that be achieved? How can a reportedly suicidal electorate be coaxed down off the ledge?

Actually, for all its vaunted intensity and apparently widespread nature, the public's present contempt for the candidates is not likely to last out the summer. More probably it will give way to little bursts of revelation and reversal. ("Say, you know Reagan is beginning to make sense to me." "Well, when you look at what Carter had to cope with..." "I but since all of that will only precede yet another national spasm of contempt, we might as well get started on a program of sorting out legitimate gripes from frivolous or wrong-headed ones, to figure out what has happened and why.")

What has happened, in the view of great printouts-full of voters who have been surveyed in this political year, is that the "system" has produced two thoroughly unacceptable candidates — Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter — as the main choices, letting them win out over a number of others who were also, when you got right down to it, unacceptable.

This adds up to an indictment of the "system" — but I don't think we should. I absolutely agree with those who point out that the reformed system with its marathon primaries and its nit-picking financing rules is crazy.

But I always thought the old system was crazy, too. We have a crazy system, reformed or not.

Political Consciousness: What seems to me relevant about it is that the same spirit, the same concept that led to the reforms and the new complications of election law has also led naturally to the particular candidates now ascending. Their faults — and in some areas these are absolutely gigantic — are what the new political consciousness conceives of as virtues.

They are losers, outsiders, men who came to political power at the edges of the life of their national parties and who had to overcome recalcitrant and fearful party mainstream regulars to succeed. They are, in different ways, both men who have risen to the pinnacle of politics on the strength of people's perception (encouraged by them) that they are different from, and better than, regular politicians.

Apollitical

This is no call to bring back the hacks — they probably haven't gone very far, anyway. But it is a plea for recognition of the fact that, broadly speaking, what has brought Jimmy Carter to his present low estate — what we are denouncing him for — is an accumulation of flubs and failures that are almost all directly attributable to his apollitical nature and instincts.

We have developed something new in our politics: the professional amateur. It is by now a trend, a habit, a cult. You succeed in this line of activity by declaring your aversion to and unfitness for it. That will bring you the cheers of the multitude. It will

also bring in time — I am certain of it — the kind of troubles the Carter presidency has sustained and seemed almost perversely to compound.

One giant flaw in the commonplace analysis of Carter's failures is that people blame the president for much that is outside his direct control — crimes committed by Congress, other countries, etc. And, shamelessly, the foreign and native perpetrators of some of those crimes love to join in the fun of sighing about the deficiencies of Jimmy Carter. But even noting that, it remains true that a president is meant to be a world-class politician precisely because political talent is what it takes to avert the worst that, say, Congress or the Elysee Palace or the ayatollahs can do to you.

Foul Ups

The inconstancy that people deplore in Carter's statements and policies, the foul-ups and the general sense that things are out of control, the disinclination or inability to project a strong, consistent presence and interest overseas — all this I trace back to the president's apollitical approach to power in his government.

He has no appetite for and certainly takes no joy in that combination of management, manipulation, inspiration, deceit, psychiatry and arm wrestling that it takes to get things to happen when you are president, and so, often as not, they don't. He is not transfixed by power. He does not seem intrigued by the challenge of using it forcefully and to good ends without abusing it. He doesn't even seem to like it very much.

Reagan hasn't been president, so we don't know the whole story.

But to me there has surely been enough of the same strain of redemption by political innocent and Washington novice to his campaign to set off the warnings. The irony of it is that the Third Man, the way out of the dilemma, John Anderson, is being hailed and promoted as exactly this same kind of apollitical, above-it-all savior-candidate. The issue, his literature suggests, is whether he is just too good, too decent to be a politician. He is the new Mr. Outsider.

Values: So long as we espouse this weird and implausible set of values, several things will happen. One is that the dreadful and demeaning little system of hypocrites we actually think of as "politics" will prevail — all that phony-seemingly stuff that no one believes.

They say Jimmy Carter lies. How could he not? He and the others are talking a basic and common American political lingo in which very little that is said is true. Does anyone believe either his statements about why he won't debate Kennedy or Anderson, for instance, or theirs about why they do so high-mindedly want to debate? Did anyone believe Reagan's argument about why he didn't debate in Iowa? At this low-grade level of politics, yes, Jimmy Carter and the whole lot of them are eminently "political."

But so what? It is play. The real question has to do with why we are so assiduously rejecting the claims of true politics — the political skill — in this country today, and then rejecting the men we have chosen to lead us on what, for them and for us, is clearly a mission impossible.

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The Need to Make Importance Interesting

By Tazie Vittachi

NEW YORK — "Mego" is a term that journalists have long used to label a common reaction in newsrooms to mention of development, foreign aid, population growth, poverty or other such worthy concerns. It is an acronym for Mine Eyes Glaze Over. The validity of the stock response is now becoming thready, as more and more editors, columnists and reporters begin to recognize that those boring subjects cannot be ignored — because they are often the deep causes of the social and political eruptions that are reported with such avidity and skill.

It seems that the public, too, does not like to be taken by surprise, as it has been, by world events, and needs to understand the underlying trends and causes leading to the dramatic happenings that touch their lives so deeply. While people want very much to know who said or did what to whom last night (the content of 80 percent of the "news hole" in a newspaper or broadcast news program), they also want to

know what is likely to happen tomorrow or the day after. Not by reading tea leaves, but by understanding the intricate processes that are continually causing those events.

We who have long been victims of the tyranny of topicality are now finding it overwhelming. There is a widespread bewilderment and frustration that events are rushing past us too furiously and rapidly for us to hold onto them long enough to influence their course or even to get their measure before they are overtaken by other events riding hard on their heels.

More, Many More

The fall of the long-entrenched and powerful regime of the Somoza family in Nicaragua occurred while the seemingly impenetrable fortress of Reza Pahlavi was being breached by raggle-taggle crowds of students, peasants and jobless people. This long-suppressed fury fueled the successful revolt of the mullahs, who were incensed by the shah's land reforms — which had affected their

"holy" (sacrosanct) mosque properties — and who feared that Westernization was undermining their traditional values.

Afghanistan then burst into world attention. And hardly had that and its consequences been digested when Liberia, the oldest basis of U.S. values and ideas in Africa, screamed its way into the headlines with the assassination of President Tolbert. There will be more, many more such events to assimilate in the next two decades, while the world hurtles into the third millennium.

The grand metaphor of the Apocalypse is four runaway horses ridden by War, Pestilence, Famine and Death. That image persists in our time, although the riders have different names. Runaway rents, runaway rises in the price of food, clothes, transport, education, holidays and credit, runaway inflation, runaway unemployment, population growth, environmental pollution, all surpassed by a breathless and deadly armaments "race" costing an incredible \$1.5 billion a day, are the powerful underlying forces — long, boring, almost technically slow processes — which give rise to the political events now erupting so frequently.

Something Wrong

It has been good business for the news media to exploit the human capacity for astonishment. It has also been good doctrine. Reporting the "exceptional" has preoccupied the press ever since Charles Dana proclaimed in the New York Sun in 1852: "When a dog bites man that is not news, but when a man bites dog that is news."

But what happens when the exceptional and the extraordinary become ordinary? There is something wrong somewhere when the apol-

ling fact that 400 million children are going to bed hungry every night, or that 1 billion human beings are destitute, only causes eyes to glaze over in newsrooms. The stock argument that the task of the media is to "give the public what it wants" is also wearing thin; many editors are beginning to realize, albeit reluctantly, that there is a growing public out there needing to understand those tedious processes which produce such exceptional events as the mass uprisings, the coups, the political assassinations and the collapse of economies that are occurring at an accelerating pace.

Nicholas Tomalin of the Sunday Times in London, who died reporting the war on the Golan Heights, said it bravely: "A journalist's required talent is the creation of interest. A good journalist takes a dull or specialized esoteric situation and makes newspaper readers want to know about it."

Tomalin, whose name is commemorated by his newspaper in an annual prize for good reporting, was not one of those thumb-sucking, do-gooding bleeding hearts we journalists deplore. He was as adept at reporting life's alarms and excursions as the best of the breed, but he also knew that such dramatic episodes are the result of the processes which are causing massive human impoverishment, both material and spiritual. Tomalin was willing, when necessary, to shed the cloak of cynicism that journalists wear to mask the feelings that threaten to overwhelm their professional detachment as they observe the world. Alas, he died too young.

The writer is chief of the information and public affairs division of the United Nations Fund for Population Activities. He wrote this article for the International Herald Tribune.

A Pole Pays for Books

By Leopold Unger

BRUSSELS — "Since September 1976, I have been in about 20 times and have about five months in prison, at an average of one day per week. I have been searched many times, that is, once every month or so; and I was frisked at least 80 times, or about once every two weeks."

"Furthermore, by applying different articles of the code, the police were able to let me have seized from me: three of my own typewriters, a jar of sauce, several unrecorded and others that were recorded, jazz, a pair of scissors, a travel blank paper, a number of books on the censor's index scientific annotations. Along they made a haul of almost items, and seven magazines including two women — signed papers permitting those seizures."

The 16th search of his apartment, the 81st frisking, an eighth magazine seizure to be exact, took place in the apartment of the Polish writer, who recounted his four-year ordeal last March 25, has been arrested for a 21st time.

56 Books

Khoyezki, 35, a chemist, researcher at the Swierk Nuclear Institute near Warsaw. A member of the Polish People's Republic, he was fired in September 1976, because of his efforts to the families of workers arrested during the rebellion which was throughout Poland that year. Then, between searches and frisks, he has been trying to break the publishing monopoly.

KOR asked Khoyezki to size and head Nova, the New York, set up by the opposition preserve works banned by the sor. During three years, by steadily changing addresses, by peeling to friends within the try and to help from outside, I quiring duplicating equipment spare parts to replace those re- ly confiscated by the police avoiding traps of double agent setting some himself, Khoyezki and Nova have brought out books banned by the censor.

Authors whose works he has included Jerzy Andrzej Czeslaw Milosz, Witold Gombrowicz, Kazimierz Brzezinski, Stanislaw Baranczak, Tadeusz Konwicki and Wladyslaw Bielecki, also published foreign author George Orwell, Joseph Brodsky, Mandelstam, Isaac Bashevis Singer, Bohumil Hrabal and G. Grass.

It is responsible for two libraries, "Zapis" and "Puls KOR Information Bulletin," a Notebook of the Flying University, which holds classes on literary subjects forbidden by official authorities.

Last year the police twice asked to confiscate the entire run of "Zapis." However, in a try where paper is officially usable and no individual may duplicating machine, and nothing may be printed — no rials or funeral announcements not calling cards — without it sor's seal of approval, Khoyezki and Nova have published an average of 70 books and review average of 200 pages, for a price of 2,000 each time.

The Trial

Khoyezki was a man to be out of the way. He was arrested March 25 on the pretext of a loosely obtaining a photocopy machine. After two hunger strikes by Khoyezki in prison and of his friends in a Warsaw — and under the pressure of unprecedented wave of protest regime released him on March 25, set up by the opposition preserve works banned by the sor. During three years, by steadily changing addresses, by peeling to friends within the try and to help from outside, I quiring duplicating equipment spare parts to replace those re- ly confiscated by the police avoiding traps of double agent setting some himself, Khoyezki and Nova have brought out books banned by the censor.

It is indicative of change highest political level. KOR arrest and his trial are the consequence of the inclusion party leadership of a number influential reactionaries. Chief these is Andrzej Werblan helped organize the meeting Moscow Communist parties is in April.

Reliable sources say Khoyezki was released from detention personal order of party chairman Giersek, who explained cision by saying that I received a letter from Maria Kowalska-Khoyezki, Khoyezki's mother, who in February participated in the attack on Gen. Franz Kuchera in Gen captured Warsaw.

Disidents say the fact of Polish authorities use a pretext to charge Khoyezki miscent of the methods n Stalinists to get rid of their times that were believed to b

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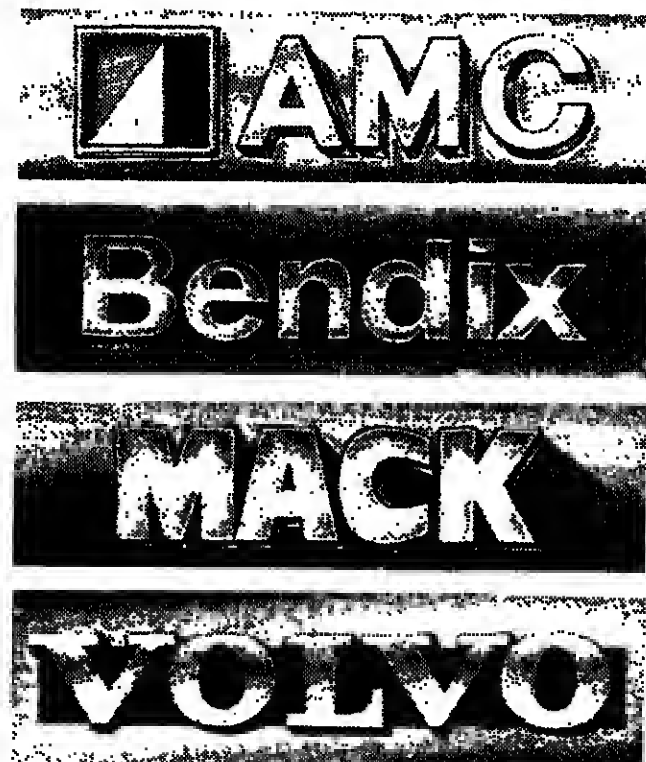
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RENAULT

*Avec is French for with.

**At a constant 56 mph (90 km/h).

Observations in Exile: Sakharov Sends a Letter to the West

Last January, Andrei Sakharov — a physicist, Nobel Laureate and one of the Soviet Union's most outspoken human rights activists — was seized on a Moscow street by agents of the State Security Committee, the KGB, and banished to the Volga River city of Gorki. There, about 250 miles east of the capital, he is not permitted to communicate by mail or telephone with foreigners. He has, nevertheless, managed to send messages to the outside world. The following article, obtained by The New York Times, is his first major statement since his exile in Gorki. It was translated by Raymond H. Anderson, an editor on the foreign news desk of The Times.

I should like to offer some thoughts on problems that have been troubling me and discuss the way they appear to me here in Gorki, a city closed to foreigners, in the depths of the Soviet Union, where I now live under vigilant surveillance by the KGB.

World Problems

In the 1960s and '70s, the Soviet Union, making use of its growing economic and scientific-technological potential, carried out a fundamental re-equipping and expansion of its weaponry. There was a substantial increase in both the quality and quantity of the missiles and nuclear weapons developed earlier, and in other new systems of military technology: transport vehicles for the largest land force in the world, the latest war in tanks and aircraft, combat helicopters, fire-control systems, communications, nuclear submarines, fast hydrofoil craft and many others.

A major change has occurred in the world balance of forces, and this change is intensifying. It is true, of course, that the development of new technology and the growth in numbers of weapons have not been confined to the Soviet Union. This is a mutually stimulating process in virtually all technologically developed countries. In the United States, in particular, such developments have proceeded on a higher scientific-technological level and this, in turn, caused alarm in the Soviet Union.

But in order to assess the situation properly it is imperative to take note of the particular features of the Soviet Union — a closed totalitarian state with a largely militarized economy and bureaucratically centralized control, all of which make the growing might of such a country even more dangerous. In more democratic societies, every step in the field of armaments is subjected to public budgetary and political scrutiny and is carried out under public control. In the Soviet Union, all decisions of this kind are made behind closed doors and the world learns of them only when confronted by *faits accomplis*. Even more ominous is the fact that this situation applies also to the field of foreign policy, involving issues of war and peace.

At the same time that the change in the balance of forces was occurring — though not only because of that change — there was covert and overt Soviet expansion in key strategic and economic regions of the world. Southeast Asia (where Vietnam was used as a proxy) and Angola (with Cuba as the proxy), Ethiopia and Yemen are only some of the examples. The invasion of Afghanistan may be a new and more dangerous stage in this expansion. The invasion, which occurred against the background of the tragedy in Tehran, and possibly had some concealed connection with it, exacerbated world tensions and obstructed talks on disarmament and the settlement of other conflicts. In particular, the invasion made it impossible, at the present time, for the U.S. Congress to ratify the SALT II treaty, which is of such crucial importance to the world.

Several months earlier, the Soviet Union had unleashed at home and abroad a demagogic campaign against plans by the United States and North Atlantic Treaty Organization allies for an urgent needed modernization of their missile forces in Europe — this at a time when the Soviet Union had already completed such a modernization — and had thwarted (I hope only temporarily) talks on limiting medium-range nuclear missiles. The Vienna negotiations on disarmament in Europe are likewise in a deplorable state, which is also mainly the fault of the Soviet Union.

Despite all that has happened, I feel that the questions of war and peace and disarmament are so crucial that they must be given absolute priority even in the most difficult circumstances. It is imperative that all possible means be used to solve these questions and to lay the groundwork for further progress. Most urgent of all are steps to avert a nuclear war, which is the greatest peril confronting the modern world. The goals of all responsible people in the world coincide in this regard, including, I hope and believe, the Soviet leaders — despite their dangerous expansionist policies, despite the cynicism, dogmatic conceptions and lack of self-confidence that often prevent them from conducting more realistic domestic and foreign policies.

Therefore, I hope that when there is some easing of the present crisis in international relations, caused mainly by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, there will be a revival of efforts in regard to SALT II, a technologically progressive treaty that provides the essential foundations for SALT III. I hope, too, that there will be new efforts in regard to medium-range nuclear weapons and tactical weapons as well as a reduction in "ordinary" weaponry in Europe.

Negotiations on disarmament are possible only on the basis of strategic parity. The countries of the West must do everything necessary to maintain this parity or, in some categories, to regain it — not allowing themselves to become victims of blackmail and demagoguery as in the campaign against American missiles in Europe. Of equal urgency is a peaceful settlement of "hot" conflicts. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was condemned by 104 nations, but the war continues there and no end is in sight. Economic and political sanctions are extremely important; they can help strengthen the band of the more responsible, nondogmatic members of the Soviet leadership. In particular, the broadest possible boycott of the Moscow Olympics is necessary. Every spectator or athlete who comes to the Olympics will be giving indirect support to Soviet military policies.

It is vital to demand withdrawal of the Soviet troops in Afghanistan. I hope that withdrawal of the troops will become possible — if not now, perhaps later — on the basis of guaranteed neutrality, with stationing in the country of UN troops or units from neutral Moslem countries, which should ease Soviet apprehensions.

The Soviet conditions that foreign interference be ended are pure demagoguery because there is no such interference. In general, Soviet propaganda is conducted now on a crude military level. For example, television broadcasts are showing allegedly captured American grenades containing nerve gas. Painted on the grenades in large white letters are the words "Made in

U.S.A." All this is obviously intended to head off any similar accusations against operations by the Soviet Army.

The Middle East conflict has been dragging on for decades. The main hope for its settlement is development of the Camp David line so that the difficulties and tragedies of the past will not be carried into the future. It is very important that the Palestinians adopt such a position, that they recognize the existence of Israel, renounce terrorist-guerrilla methods of struggle and refuse to be pawns of those who supply them with guns. There is no evidence yet of any movement in this direction.

Israel, it seems to me, should show more restraint, particularly in regard to settlements in the occupied lands. The Middle East crisis can be solved only in the context of general world problems. Therefore, U.S. mediation seems to me to be of utmost importance.

In November, 1979, I wrote to Leonid Brezhnev, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., urging him to help assure uninterrupted supplies of food to the starving people in Cambodia, where famine is the consequence of the crimes of the deposed Pol Pot regime and the war. This problem, like that of the refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia, Ethiopia and other countries, remains as critical as ever. Now there is the problem of refugees from Afghanistan and Cuba. Saving people must be put ahead of all military and political considerations and national prestige.

At the moment I write this, the world has just learned of the failure of the American attempt to rescue the hostages in Tehran. I feel that this was a brave and noble effort. It was undertaken only after it had become clear that the Iranian authorities would not free the hostages voluntarily, thereby taking upon themselves responsibility for a crime that flouts the standards of international behavior.

I do not understand how so many technical problems could have arisen. There are no doubt being subjected to intensive scrutiny, not only the technical questions but also the possibility of sabotage. Success of the mission would have saved the world from a nightmare. No one should condemn the United States because the mission failed. And no one should criticize President Carter for the secrecy in which the mission was organized. It would be my guess that the secrecy, if anything, was insufficient rather than excessive. Personal ambitions had no place in this. Over all, the actions of Carter in these tragic days win only respect from me.

Success of the American rescue mission would have eliminated a need to impose sanctions against Iran, and it would have been in the interest of the Iranian people themselves. It appears now that sanctions have become inevitable, and it is very important to achieve unity of action by the countries of the West. Solution of the hostage problem is a matter for all countries that consider themselves democratic and strive to preserve the norms of international relations. This is not just an American problem but a worldwide one, as was shown by new acts of terrorism: the successfully resolved incidents in Bogota and London.

World attention should be paid to many other problems whose burden now rests mainly on the United States — economic and technological aid to developing countries, help to refugees and the starving, and general economic, ideological and military resistance to the expansion of totalitarianism.

Western unity is one of the main conditions for international security, a unity that will promote resistance and ultimately lead to rapprochement and the convergence of world systems, averting thermonuclear catastrophe.

Western Problems

A totalitarian system conducts its policy through control from a single center — diplomacy, information and dissemination services, intelligence, scientific-technological exchanges, economic and military assistance to liberation (a word that must sometimes be used with quotes) movements, foreign policy of satellite countries and all kinds of clandestine activities — all these are coordinated from a single center. Special attention must be paid here to clandestine activities, since a person is inclined to forget something if it is not waved in front of his eyes. The West and developing countries are filled with citizens who by reason of their positions are able to promote Soviet influence and expansionist goals.

Some of them are motivated by ideas that at least merit discussion. After all, in the Soviet Union, the ideological epicenter, and in China as well, Communist ideology is not a complete fraud, not a total delusion. It arose from a striving for truth and justice, like other religious, ethical and philosophical systems. Its weakness, its failure and its degradation — evident from the very beginning — represent a complex historical, scientific and psychological phenomenon that requires separate analysis.

There are others among such people who conduct themselves in a "progressive" manner because they consider it profitable, prestigious or fashionable.

A third category consists of naive, poorly informed or indifferent people who close their eyes and ears to the bitter truth and eagerly swallow any sweet lie.

Finally, there is the fourth group — people who have been bought in the most direct sense of the word, not always with money. These include some political figures, businessmen, a great many writers and journalists, government advisers, and heads of the press and television. Over all, they make up quite a group of influential people.

(I can't resist telling about an incident involving my wife and me. Two leading and influential American scientists, arriving in the Soviet Union to take part in a conference, were given envelopes containing money for personal expenses. Out of politeness and embarrassment they felt they could not decline the money. So, in a state of confusion, they gave it to us and asked that we pass it on to scientists who had lost their jobs. We don't know how many other such incidents there have been.)

Of course, there are many spies, secret agents and organizers of sabotage. This is true of nations other than the U.S.S.R., but a totalitarian system has special opportunities. In particular, one cannot arbitrarily reject allegations by some writers about connections between the KGB and international terrorism. The absence of direct proof about such links and concern about a further worsening of tensions make governments of the West reluctant to look too deep into this sensitive question.

Unity of all its forces is one of the advantages of totalitarianism in its world offensive threatening the pluralist West. What can the West do to counter this challenge? Of course, in historical perspective, in conditions of peaceful and orderly development, the pluralist and free systems are more viable and dynamic. Therefore,



Andrei Sakharov and his wife, Yelena Bonner, at their apartment in Gorki in February.

the future will follow the path of pluralist and converging scientific-technological progress.

But the world is facing very difficult times and cruel catastrophes if the West and the developing countries trying to find their place in the world do not now show the required firmness, unity and consistency in resisting the totalitarian challenge. This relates to governments, to the intelligentsia, businessmen and in all people. It is important that the common danger be fully understood — everything else will then fall into place. In this regard, I believe in Western man. I have faith in his mind, which is practical and efficient and at the same time aspires to great goals. I have faith in his good intentions and his decisiveness.

Recent months have been under the shadow of the events in Afghanistan and Tehran. The reaction in Europe, at least the initial reaction, has not been as consistent and united as, in my opinion, it should have been. One could read assertions in the press of the following type: "Let Carter worry about it. He's the one facing the elections. After all, this is a purely American matter. We have our own problems."

I am unable to judge how widespread are such views. In my opinion, they are very harmful. Recently, the West German author Gunter Grass and three other writers issued a statement in this spirit. The Soviet press delights in quoting such statements, forgiving the authors all their past "sins." The anti-Americanism of certain representatives of the West European intelligentsia would be merely amusing, given their show of exaggerated sensitivity, if it were not so harmful.

In truth, Europe has much of which it can be proud. But it is inappropriate for Europe to adopt an arrogant attitude. The tragic nature of our time does not permit this. Europe must fight shoulder to shoulder with the transoceanic de-

em voters must demand this from government leaders and not allow demagogues to exploit these problems for their selfish ends.

Defense of human rights has become a worldwide ideology, uniting on a humane basis people of all nationalities and with the most diverse convictions. I have very high regard for them all, for Amnesty International and its struggle for release of prisoners of conscience, against torture and the death penalty; for the International League for Human Rights; and for the rights activists in Eastern Europe, China and other countries, where they show great bravery in coping with cruel repression.

Internal Problems

In the Soviet Union, the movement for human rights emerged in its present form at the end of the '60s with publication of the Chronicle of Current Events, an anonymous underground journal that reports cases of violations in the Soviet Union factually and without subjective comment. Despite severe repressions, the journal has continued to appear, a total to date of 54 issues. In more recent years, appeals by the Helsinki group [formed in the Soviet Union to check on compliance with human rights provisions of the 1975 Helsinki agreement on European security] began to appear.

The human rights movement has no political objectives and its participants have no desire to gain political power. Their only weapon is the free access and dissemination of information. It is of vital importance that the movement limit itself to nonviolent methods. Such a position is logical in a country that has passed through the violence of every circle of hell. Calls for new revolutionary upheavals or for intervention would be mad and a terrible crime in an unsta-

Russians. One often hears exclamations: "We're wasting our money on these black (or yellow) monkeys! We're feeding parasites!" — or one hears: "The Jews are responsible!" — or the "Russians" or the "Georgians" or the "Chukch-mek," a derogatory term for the peoples of Central Asia.

These are very disturbing symptoms after 60 years of proclaiming "friendship of the peoples."

Officially, Communist ideology is internationalist, but it surreptitiously exploits nationalist prejudices. So far, this has been done with some caution and I hope that these forces will not be unleashed. After the class hatred we have suffered, we certainly have no need for a racist-nationalist ideology. I am convinced that this is dangerous and destructive even in its most humane (at first glance) "dissident" manifestations. There are few people who react seriously anymore to slogans about building Communism, although there was a time when, perhaps as a result of a certain misunderstanding, Communist slogans reflected a wish for justice and happiness for all in the world.

But internal propaganda intensively exploits the authoritarianism of World War II and the pride that people feel in their active part in historic events of that time. The irony of life is that it was only during the war that the ordinary person felt his importance and his dignity in an inhuman world of terror and humiliation. There is intensive exploitation of the risk of war and the much decried American military bases around our country. Feelings of suspicion are stirred up about schemes of the "imperialists."

A nation that has suffered the horrible losses, cruelties and destruction of war years above all for peace. This is a broad, profound, powerful and honest feeling. Today the leaders of the country do not, and cannot, go against this dominant desire of the people. I want to believe that in this regard, the Soviet leaders are sincere, that when peace is involved they are transformed from robots into people.

But even the people's deep wish for peace is exploited, and this is perhaps the cruelest deception of all. The deep yearning for peace is used to justify all the most negative features in our country — economic disorder, excessive militarization, purportedly "defensive" foreign policy measures (whether in Czechoslovakia or Afghanistan) and lack of freedom in our closed society. And those negative features also include the ecological madness, such as the destruction of Lake Baikal, meadows and fields and the country's fish resources, and the poisoning of our water and air.

The people of our country submit uncomplainingly to all the shortages of meat, butter and many other products — though they do grumble at home. They put up with the gross social inequality between the elite and the ordinary citizens. They endure the arbitrary behavior and cruelty of local authorities. They know about the beatings and deaths of people in police stations but as a rule keep quiet. They do not speak out — sometimes they even gloat — about the unjust treatment of dissidents. They are silent about any and all foreign policy actions.

A country living for decades under conditions in which all means of production belong to the state is suffering serious economic and social hardship. It cannot grow enough food for its people. It cannot, without the benefit of détente, keep up with the contemporary levels of science and technology.

From the time I wrote "My Country and the World" [published in 1975], the average salary has risen, but the cost of living has evidently risen even higher because daily life has not im-

Alcoholism is a worldwide phenomenon wholly a result of conditions in our country certain specific factors do play a major role. Expenditures for drinking reduce surplus purchasing power of the population, but the point is that an alcoholic poses no threat to government. Also, drinking is the only recreation available and the authorities are not hardy enough to take this away without something in return. There are economic and psychological elements in all this. A result: Instead of dry wine and good vodka authorities flood the market with cheap and soured fortified wine, known as *borzh*, which swiftly destroys men, women and sters. As the "quiet" Czar Alexis Mikhaïl said 300 years ago: "Don't drive the he away from the taverns."

The people of our country are to some confused and intimidated, of course. But is also a conscious self-deception and an escape from difficult problems. The "The People and Party Are One," which from every fifth building, consists not of empty words.

But it was from the ranks of the people the defenders of human rights emerged, ing up against deceit, hypocrisy and armed only with pens, ready to make say, yet lacking the stimulus one derives in certainty of quick success. They had the They will not be forgotten. On their side have moral force and the logic of historical development. I am convinced also that they will continue in one form or another ever the size of the movement. What is important is not the arithmetic but the quality of breaking through the psychological barrier.

But history develops according to slow (and tortuous) laws. We are now through difficult and troubling times — ending of international tensions, Soviet socialism, shameless anti-American, anti-Israeli, anti-Egyptian and anti-propaganda and threats of still greater action ahead.

Some Words About Myself

I live in an apartment guarded day and by a policeman at the entrance. He allows me to enter but family members, with exceptions. There is an old friend who lives in Gorki; the price he pays for associating is a summons to the KGB for a talk after visit. There is a Gorki physicist who has denied an emigration visa; he also has to the KGB after his visits to us. The only visitors are people judged suitable by the KGB. There is no telephone in the apartment, unable to telephone Moscow or Leningrad from the public telephone bureau at the office. The call is immediately disconnected the orders of the KGB agents who always me, I receive very little mail, and that mainly of letters "re-educating" me, or cursing me. Oddly enough, I get the bulk of letters from the West with kind words, some mail from the West with kind words am deeply grateful to the senders.

When I accompanied my mother-in-law station on her departure for Moscow, agents, pistols in hand, made a show of ing me from approaching the coach, making clear that the order forbidding me from beyond the city limits was not just empty. A radio-jamming facility has been set up apartment building, just for me. In order to the radio, it is necessary for my wife to go for walks at night with a transistor receiver. While we are out walking, the agents are in our apartment damaging the writer and tape recorder or searching through our papers. I occupy myself with sewing work, but I suffer from a lack of regular work with colleagues.

At the end of the third month of my Gorki, on the eve of the arrival in Moscow, Western participants in an unofficial seminar, the KGB allowed my colleagues, Institute of Physics of the Academy of Sciences to visit me. It even recommended that so, I am very grateful to those who did had been a long time since I had had an opportunity to discuss developments in scientific their stay, the police post was moved from the door and the jamming facility turned off. But as soon as my colleagues left, promising that others would come, everything returned to its former state: there was a resumption of the regular visit to the Ministry of Internal Affairs for introduction of a new passport.

In terms of everyday life, my situation is much better than that of my friends in exile or, particularly, sentenced to labor or prison. But all the measures taken against me have not even a shred of legality. It is harsh, nationwide campaign against dissidents, including the attempt to force me to leave and thereby make it easier for repression against others.

I am frequently asked whether I am emigrate. I feel that constant "emigration" matter in the press and many foreign "emigration" is premature, motivated by thirst for idealism. I feel that every person has the right to emigrate, in principle, I do not myself. But I do not regard this as a violation for me at that time because the does not depend upon me anyway.

I regard as just and legal the demands of foreign colleagues that my exile be revoked and that I be allowed to return to the West. These are my rights as a scientist but also as a human being. I am grateful for the concern and for the formulated demands.

This article is being taken to Moscow, my constant helper, who shares and willingly takes upon herself the burdens of traveling back and forth, has communications with the outside world with the growing hatred of the KGB, she withstood the poison of slander and censure, forced more on her than on me, that I am Russian and my wife is a Jew has proved useful for the internal purposes of the KGB.

Recently, someone appeared at my in-law's door at 5:30 a.m., describing an officer of the KGB. He warned my daughter my wife, did not stop her and forth from Gorki and stop taking anti-Soviet statements, they would be letters with similar threats against my wife my wife leaves, I do not know she will be allowed to travel without being and to return safely. My wife, although not under detention, is in greater danger. I urge those who speak out on my behalf in this mind. It is impossible to what awaits us. Our only protection is light of public attention on our fate around the world.

- "Everything is as it was under...Stalin. The leaders ...interfere in troubled areas around the world... to insure that the guns don't get rusty."
- "The broadest possible boycott of the Moscow Olympics is necessary. Every spectator or athlete who comes to the Olympics will be giving indirect support to Soviet military policies."
- "...To listen to the radio, it is necessary for my wife and me to go for walks at night with a transistor... [Meanwhile] the K.G.B. [is] searching through our papers."

mocracy, which is Europe's creation and Europe's main hope. A certain lack of unity, of course, is the reverse side of the coin of democratic pluralism, the West's major strength. But this disunity is also caused by the systematic Soviet policy of driving "wedges," a policy that the West has not resisted adequately because of carelessness and blindness. Nonetheless, I feel that in the course of recent crises a positive shift has appeared in the stand of the West and of the developing countries. Only the future will show whether I am right.

Among the important events of recent years is a movement toward greater independence by several European Communist parties — though now the French have apparently beaten a quick retreat. There may be profound consequences if the parties continue to reject dogmatism and unquestioning support of Moscow (in such matters as Afghanistan, for example) and if they accept certain pluralist principles. It would be very important if the European Communist parties joined all democratic forces in supporting the struggle for human rights in the Soviet Union and other Communist countries.

One of the causes of the weakening position of the West is its dependence on oil supplies. A "fatal dependency," as an American leader has remarked. The geopolitics of the Soviet Union is aimed precisely at this weak point. In these circumstances, the West cannot afford to deprive itself of nuclear energy, which gives room for diplomatic and economic maneuvering. Concern about safety and environmental hazards should have no bearing on the principal issue — to build or not to build nuclear stations — but only on how to build them. The price in terms of polluting the environment are greater from coal and oil than from nuclear energy. Of course, other sources of energy must be developed as an alternative to oil, including coal despite its ecological shortcomings. Strict conservation must be introduced in the use of electricity and heat. Steps must be taken to provide small cars, good public transportation, insulation of homes, integrated heating systems and, especially, introduction of technological processes in industry to conserve electricity. West-

ern world only several steps from the thermonuclear abyss.

Participants in the human rights movement speak out openly for human rights whenever they learn of violations, and they inform the people. They have also set themselves the task of correcting the historical record about a society and individual citizens if the truth has been distorted by official propaganda. They help the families of victims of repression. I am convinced that this is what is needed — a pure moral movement to plant in people's minds a basis for democratic and pluralist transformation. This is crucial to the country and essential to all mankind for the sake of peace on earth.

The consciousness of broad masses of the population has been deformed by a number of factors: decades of totalitarian terror... old and new prejudices... the lure of a relatively good life after generations of havoc (I mean of course a very limited good life, nothing like the well-being and freedom of workers in the West or the privileged elites in the Soviet Union)... the constant need to wheel and deal, to scheme and break the law. The ideology of the Soviet phylistine (I have in mind the worst people but they, unfortunately, are rather frequently found among workers and peasants and throughout the intelligentsia) consists of several uncomplicated ideas:

• A cult of the state, involving, in various combinations, submission to authority, a naïve belief that life in the West is worse than in the Soviet Union, gratitude to a "benefactor" government and, at the same time, fear and hypocrisy.

• Egotistic endeavors to insure a good life for oneself and one's family, to "live like everyone else" with the help of graft, theft, ignored by bosses, and ever-present hypocrisy. There is a desire among better people in this category to achieve a good life through their own labor, by their own hands. Nonetheless, it is still necessary to wheel and deal and to play the hypocrite.

• The idea of nationalist superiority, which takes on a dark, hysterical and pogromlike form among some Russians, and not only among

proved. The much acclaimed free medical care steadily gets worse. (It is "free" because the wages of most workers are kept so low and because one must pay for expensive medicines.) The situation in education is not much better, especially in the countryside. It is no longer possible to explain away all these problems as a result of the war or occasional mistakes.

There is an urgent need for economic reforms that would increase the independence of enterprises and allow elements of a mixed economy. There is need for more freedom of information, a free and critical press, freedom for people to travel abroad, freedom of emigration and a free choice of one's place of residence within the country. In the long run, there should probably be a multiparty system and elimination of party monopoly over all ideological, political and economic life.

But all of this, even though obvious to most people, remains for the time being nothing but wishful thinking. The dogmatic bureaucrats and the new people replacing them, the anonymous and shrewd cynics, moving in the many "corridors of power" of the departments of the Central Committee, the KGB, the ministries and the provincial and regional party committees — are pushing the country toward what they consider to be the safest path but that is in reality a path to suicide.

Everything is as it was under the system of power and economy created by Stalin. The leaders carry on the arms race, concealing it behind talk of their love of peace. They interfere in troubled areas around the world, from Ethiopia to Afghanistan, in order to increase prestige, to strengthen the nation's power and to insure that the guns don't get rusty. They round up dissidents, returning the country to the quiet "pre-dissident" period, as my son-in-law, Elvren Yankelevich, has described the situation. [Yankelevich, who emigrated in 1977, is a researcher at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.]

In the last 10 or 15 years there has been a worsening of the traditional Russian curse, drunkenness. The government has attempted some timid half-measures — more in word than deed — but it is unable to accomplish much.

Students Must Avoid Politics

South Korea Bars Activism When Universities Reopen

By William Chapman

SEOUL, June 12 (UPI) — South Korean universities were warned that student activism would not be tolerated when classes opened.

The move to prevent a revival of protests like those that preceded a military crackdown last year, the country's new education minister, Lee Kyu Ho, declared that any action by students would be met with a firm hand.

Students were to be instructed to stay out of politics, Mr. Lee said. He said that the government had been closed since the end of the Korean war, when anti-government protests led to the arrest of many students.

Lee, who replaced Mr. Kim Doo Hwan, the most recent of the military leaders in the country, said that universities should be places of learning, not of political activity.

Opera Baritone Richard Bonelli Dies in U.S.

YORK, June 11 (NYT) — Richard Bonelli, 91, American baritone, died Saturday at his home in Los Angeles.

Bonelli was one of the most famous baritone voices of his generation. He began his career in opera in 1925 and continued to perform until 1965.

He made his American debut in the Chicago Civic Opera in 1935. The opera "A Traviata" and his co-stars, Claudia Muzio and Antonio

The students had not been educated to make "proper political judgments," Mr. Lee told the educators today. Campus problems cannot be settled by physical means, he said, urging the deans and presidents to communicate better with the students on national political issues.

Meanwhile, an American business leader said today that businessmen were still watching the Korean political situation to determine the effects on private enterprise of nearly seven months of upheaval.

James Voss, chairman of the U.S.-Korea Economic Council, said that some U.S. business interests may hold back on investments in South Korea until the political future becomes clear. He described the U.S. attitude as one of caution but said he had found no pessimism among U.S. members of the council.

Mr. Voss, chairman of CalTex Petroleum Corp., said his delegation had inquired about what the military's role would be in the government from now on but had received no clear answers.

He said that American businessmen were most concerned about whether the new structure of government would be as "carefully meshed" with business as it was before Mr. Park's death so that there would be no "undue restriction" on private enterprise. He said the council members had been assured on that point.

South Korea's economic picture was already gloomy before Mr. Park's assassination and the period of turmoil, and investors have expressed concern that one of Asia's fastest growing economies would be permanently damaged. International bankers have let it be known that they will not assist to any new long-term loans until the political scene was made clear.

Elections Promised

SEOUL, June 12 (Reuters) — President Choi Kyu Hah today promised that a new South Korean government would take power by the end of June, 1981, following general elections in the first half of next year.

The televised announcement was welcomed by businessmen and politicians. Full martial law was declared on May 17 and since then there have been increasing signs that the military did not intend to relinquish power.

The imposition of full martial law and the formation of a military-dominated special committee for national security initiatives, especially its standing committee under Lt. Gen. Chun, led to opposition. It was feared that a return to full democracy would be delayed indefinitely.

But Mr. Choi said that a new constitution would be put to a national referendum in time for it to be finalized by the end of October at the latest.

"The necessary legal and administrative measures will then be taken," he said.

India Mine Collapses

NEW DELHI, June 12 (UPI) — A coal mine collapsed after heavy rains in eastern India and more than 100 miners were feared buried, officials said today.



RUSH ORDER — Workers hurriedly finish construction of the Olympic Indoor Stadium in Moscow to be ready for the July 19 opening date. The International Olympic Committee announced that countries boycotting the Games will have their press accreditations cut in half — meaning, for example, that the United States will be able to send 100 newsmen instead of 200. Press quotas are based both on the number of newspapers in each country and on the size of national teams competing. International agencies are treated separately.

Accounts of Repression in East Timor Contradict U.S. View in House Inquiry

WASHINGTON, June 11 (Reuters) — A U.S. official made a reassuring report yesterday on conditions in East Timor, the former Portuguese colony seized by Indonesia in 1976, but others familiar with the region differed sharply with his assessment.

Richard Holbrooke, assistant secretary of state for Asian affairs, told congressmen investigating the international relief effort in East Timor that there had been a dramatic improvement there and many areas were returning to normal.

Food and medicine were reaching persons in need, he said, and recent Western visitors to the island off the Indonesian archipelago had confirmed that conditions had improved markedly. There was no evidence, he added, to back up reports that much of the aid was being diverted to the black market.

But Amnesty International, a Roman Catholic priest from East Timor and a retired U.S. admiral all gave the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations testimony that largely contradicted Mr. Holbrooke's statements.

Reports of Executions

David Hinkley, chairman of the U.S. chapter of Amnesty International, said the London-based human rights organization was deeply concerned about persistent reports of imprisonment and executions without trial on the island.

"Amnesty International now believes that there are strong grounds for fearing that the Indonesian occupation forces in East Timor have executed Fretilin members who had either been captured or had surrendered under the terms of an amnesty guaranteeing their physical safety," he said.

Fretilin is the liberation movement that unilaterally declared a democratic republic of East Timor in 1975 and fought Indonesian forces on the island.

U.S. Finds Defect in 16 Million Ford Cars

By Reginald Stuart

DETROIT, June 11 (NYT) — The U.S. government notified the Ford Motor Co. yesterday that it had made a preliminary determination that defects exist in the transmission systems of 16 million of its automobiles. Such a finding usually results in a formal recall order.

The Department of Transportation, in a letter to Ford, said the defect existed in passenger cars of the 1969 through 1979 model years.

In such cases a public hearing generally is held within 30 days of the written notification, after which the government decides whether to issue a formal recall order. In the last two major recalls — involving Ford Pinto models and Firestone 500 steel-belted radial tires — the companies voluntarily ordered recalls before the government took formal action.

If the order is issued against Ford, it would be by far the largest recall in the history of the automobile industry. It could cost the Detroit-based automaker several hun-

dred million dollars, based on industry estimates, at a time when Ford is already in shaky financial condition.

In recent months, the transmission slippage case has stirred as much controversy as the one involving the Ford Pinto, the popular subcompact of the 1970s. Consumer groups and hundreds of customers alleged that the fuel tank systems of the subcompact were highly susceptible to puncture and subsequent fires when the cars were struck from the rear.

In June, 1978, under government pressure, the company recalled more than 1 million 1971-1976 Pintos for fuel tank modification.

The largest recall to date was half the size of the one proposed against Ford. It involved cracking engine blocks built by the General Motors Corp., the largest automobile manufacturer in the United States.

The National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, the agency

in the Department of Transportation that is responsible for safety regulation in the auto industry, has spent three years investigating complaints by motorists that a defect in the transmission systems of some Ford passenger cars causes them to slip from park into reverse gear without warning.

Some of the same forces involved in the Ford Pinto recall two years ago are behind the current drive to have the Ford passenger cars recalled for transmission repairs. These groups allege that transmission slippages have been responsible for 70 deaths and 1,100 injuries in 3,300 accidents.

Ford officials have maintained that the slippages have been caused by driver error. Some early studies by the Transportation Department reportedly were inconclusive. In meetings last week, however, department officials were said by reliable sources to have concluded that their findings were sound.

Russia Sentences Nazi Supporters

MOSCOW, June 12 (UPI) — Four Soviet men who collaborated with Nazi forces during World War II and allegedly were responsible for the deaths of hundreds of Belorussian people have been convicted of war crimes, and one defendant was sentenced to death.

The case, which apparently was decided recently by the Belorussian Republic's regional court, was announced in newspapers reaching Moscow today from Minsk, the republic's capital.

A defendant identified as T.S. Kornienko was sentenced to death by firing squad, the newspaper Sovetskaya Belorussia said. There was no indication whether the sentence had yet been carried out. Three co-defendants, identified as N.A. Leshchinsky, D.A. Kovalevich and U.K. Barkovsky, "were sentenced to various long periods of imprisonment," the report said.

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BUSINESS NEWS BRIEFS

Swiss Orders Planes Worth \$600 Million

CHICAGO, June 12 (Reuters) — Swissair plans to order four Boeing 747 jetliners for delivery between 1983 and 1985, and two McDonnell Douglas DC-10-30 extended-range aircraft for delivery in the spring of the airline announced yesterday.

Iran Link Seen Continuing Smoothly

NEW YORK, June 12 (Reuters) — The good relationship established between Iran, its 25.01 percent shareholder, will continue, Heinz Pety, chairman of the West German steel group, said yesterday.

Japanese Appeal in U.S. Fiber Dumping Case

NEW YORK, June 12 (AP-DJ) — The Japan Chemical Fiber Association yesterday has filed an appeal with the U.S. International Trade Commission that Japanese companies had been dumping acrylic yarn in the U.S.

Chrysler Shifts News International Holding

DON, June 12 (UPI) — Rupert Murdoch's News Corp. yesterday moved a reorganization giving it control of all ordinary shares in News International, publishers of Britain's most popular daily and Sunday news-

Group in U.S. Inventories

WASHINGTON, June 12 (WP) — Business inventories experienced pickup, of inventories in the face of declining sales, said overall stockbuilding was not excessive and did not indicate a serious problem.

Shah, Connally Are Cited In Dealings With Hunts

WASHINGTON, June 12 (UPI) — The billionaire Hunt brothers tried to convince the family of the Shah of Iran and other wealthy Middle East individuals to purchase large amounts of silver in an attempt to control the world silver market, a former Hunt aide says.

Canada Warns U.S. Steel on Complaints

WASHINGTON, June 12 (WP) — Canadian Ambassador Peter Towe warned U.S. steelmakers yesterday not to file anti-dumping complaints against the Canadian steel industry and said that any such complaints could "only be characterized as harassment and protectionism."

U.S. Sets Deadline In Textile Dispute

WASHINGTON, June 12 (AP-DJ) — The United States has set a June 19 deadline for a decision in a long-simmering trade dispute with the European Community over textile import restrictions the British government imposed in early 1980.

an's Oil Bill

n to Double

NEW YORK, June 12 (Reuters) — The Organization of Exporting Countries to 32 a barrel crude market would probably boost Japan's oil import bill to more than \$1 billion last year and the 1979 refineries said yesterday.

5.5% Rise In GNP for W. Germany

Schmidt Paper Shows Strong 1st Quarter

VENICE, June 12 (AP-DJ) — The West German gross national product rose about 5.5 percent in the first quarter of 1980 from a year ago, strongly up from increases of 4.3 percent in the fourth quarter and of 4.4 percent in the first quarter of 1979.

Oil Industry: Thriving on Higher Prices

NEW YORK, June 12 (NYT) — The results of rising oil prices emerging from the meeting in Algiers of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries spell bad news for the dollar, for the unemployed, for deficit-ridden third-world countries and the banks that lend to them, and for the world monetary system.

Margins Seen As Key

While prices rose sharply in 1974 and actual margins increased, margins in percentage terms declined at the refining and marketing levels. With the explosion of crude oil prices and the imposition of stricter price controls on gasoline, the oil companies increased their profits by raising the prices of other products faster than that of gasoline.

Chrysler Delays \$150 Million in Payments

DETROIT, June 12 (NYT) — Chrysler said yesterday that it was "temporarily delaying" payment to suppliers of \$150 million in bills due Tuesday until it can obtain loan guarantees by the federal government.

Chrysler Funds Seized by Bank In West Germany, Sources Say

DETROIT, June 12 (AP-DJ) — In an unusual move, one of Chrysler's unpaid European lenders is said to have seized about \$8 million of the automaker's money and refused to give it up, despite protests from federal officials and some major banks in the United States.

NYSE Prices Off at Close; Prime Falls

From Agency Dispatches

NEW YORK, June 12 — The oil group succumbed to profit-taking and led prices on The New York Stock Exchange lower in heavy trading. However, precious metal and gaming shares advanced.

The Dow Jones Industrial Average

lost a fraction 0.9 point to close at 872.61; declines led advances 8 to 7 as turnover rose to 48 million shares.

Analysts said some investors

were disappointed when Citibank cut its prime rate by only a half point to 12 1/2 percent after First National Boston dropped to 12 percent yesterday.

However, they said the prime rate

should be much lower, based on banks' costs of funds, and said the Citibank move was probably not too significant. Several major banks, including Bank of America, joined Citibank at 12 1/2 percent.

Precious metals issues benefited

from higher bullion prices, while the gaming group rose on a favorable brokerage report. Some natural gas pipeline issues also firmed.

The Oil Group

In the oil group, Exxon lost 1/4 to 68 1/2, Mobil 3/4 to 77 1/2, Standard Oil of California 1/4 to 78 and, among the actives, Mesa Petroleum 1/4 to 37, Texaco 1/4 to 37 1/2 and Occidental Petroleum 1/4 to 26 1/2.

Some interest rate-sensitive issues

firmed. Citicorp added 1/4 to 22 1/2, BankAmerica 1/4 to 27 1/2, American Telephone 1/4 to 54 1/2 and Consolidated Edison of New York 1/4 to 25.

After the close the Federal Reserve

cut the discount rate to 11 percent from 12 percent.

Yesterday, oil issues again took

the market lead, infusing more life into the market's broad-based rally, now in its eighth week. The Dow Jones industrial average reached its highest level in more than three and a half months with volume of nearly 44 million shares.

There is near universal agreement

among analysts that banks will continue to trim their prime rates as money market conditions ease and business loan demand falls in reaction to the recession. The Federal Reserve is thought to be relaxing its monetary policy to avoid worsening the economic slump.

Since April, the prime has

dropped from an all-time high of 20 percent. The prime rate is charged on loans to a bank's most creditworthy corporate customers and has no direct impact on consumer leading rates. The prime, however, is a reliable indicator of the future direction of all interest rates.

CURRENCY RATES

Interbank exchange rates for June 12, 1980, excluding bank service charges

	\$	£	DM	FF	Y	Scd	S	DK
Amsterdam	1.593	4.33	109.70	47.88	1.222	8.84	118.82	35.38
Berlin	26.255	65.128	169.035	6.975	3.291	14.975	17.245	5.145
Frankfurt	1.245	4.12	102.91	42.91	1.174	8.14	108.59	35.15
London (C)	2.235	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Paris	83.025	184.726	472.23	20.72	1.084	29.493	316.39	151.71
Porto	0.023	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024
Stockholm	4.111	9.415	235.00	—	—	—	—	—
Switzerland	1.436	3.854	92.272	38.89	1.193	14.722	17.398	5.145
U.S.	1.024	0.904	2.118	3.857	1.0554	2.759	43.451	3.228
Y	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Dollar values

	Per	Per	Per	Per	Per	Per	Per	Per
Swiss	0.023	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024
Belgian franc	0.023	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024
Canadian \$	0.023	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024
Danish krone	0.023	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024
French franc	0.023	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024
German mark	0.023	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024
Italian lire	0.023	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024
Japanese yen	0.023	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024
Netherlands guilder	0.023	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024
Portuguese escudo	0.023	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024
Spanish peseta	0.023	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024
Swedish krona	0.023	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024
Swiss franc	0.023	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024
U.S. dollar	0.023	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024
Y	0.023	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024	0.024

(1) Commercial franc; (2) Amounts needed to buy one pound; (3) Units of 100; (4) Units of 1,000.

Oil Industry: Thriving on Higher Prices

By Leonard Silk

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But amid the furor over further OPEC price increases, the multinational and domestic oil companies have been able to maintain their composure. Indeed, as the French philosopher, Francois de la Rochefoucauld, observed, "It is remarkable with what fortitude we are able to bear the misfortunes of others."

Soaring OPEC prices have meant soaring profits for the oil companies. In a new study for the prestigious National Bureau of Economic Research, Avram Kisseloff, former chief economist of Allied Chemical, has sought to clarify just how the huge increases in OPEC oil prices have been translated into higher prices and profits by U.S. oil firms.

His study, "The Propagation of Prices in the Oil Industry, 1958-1976," finds that, at all three stages of operations — production, refining and marketing — U.S. companies were able to increase their margins substantially.

For instance, refiners' gross margins — the difference between the composite price of a barrel of foreign and domestic crude and the price of a barrel of refined petroleum products — rose from \$1.36 in 1972 to \$1.78 in 1973 and to \$2.72 in 1974. These increases meant

additional gross receipts for refiners of about \$1.9 billion in 1974.

Mr. Kisseloff stresses that in the oil industry what counts is the absolute size of the margin and not the percentage markup. The oil industry itself has historically used the concept of margin in absolute terms.

While prices rose sharply in 1974 and actual margins increased, margins in percentage terms declined at the refining and marketing levels. With the explosion of crude oil prices and the imposition of stricter price controls on gasoline, the oil companies increased their profits by raising the prices of other products faster than that of gasoline.

Using data from the Chase Manhattan Bank on 29 U.S. oil companies, Mr. Kisseloff found that annual gains in net income after taxes, which had not exceeded 10 percent in the 1967-72 period, jumped by 70 percent to 11.7 billion, in 1973 and by 40 percent, to \$16.4 billion, in 1974.

The companies held on to a much larger share of that rising income. Retained net income of the 29 companies rose to 65 percent in 1973 and 71 percent in 1974, from 45 percent in 1972. As a result, the net worth of the group of 29 rose by 11 percent in 1973 and 15 percent in 1974.

This rise in net worth helped lower their profits to percentage terms. While their re-

ported profits declined to 12.8 percent in 1973, from 15.5 percent in 1972, their actual net income after taxes remained about the same.

Mr. Kisseloff contends that a "meaningful evaluation" of the profitability of the oil industry should take into account not only the behavior of changes in net worth over time but also many other factors, including the extent to which the industry is investing in reserves of nonoil fuel.

The oil industry is in possession of assets that do not currently yield profits, he notes, but "whose potential profit increases inexorably with the rising value of the reserves."

In the last year — before OPEC's action yesterday — oil price increases amounted to 150 percent and again kicked off a big surge in industry profits. This week Dr. Jelle Zillestra, chairman of the Bank for International Settlements, warned that, while the world might be able to cope with the 1979-80 round of oil price increases, a third huge increase following the current recession, or a major interruption of supplies, would create havoc in the world economy.

Leading financial representatives of the West are now proposing to use the International Monetary Fund and other international agencies to recycle OPEC's dollar earnings to keep the system going a while longer. As la Rochefoucauld put it, "Being reconciled with our enemies is only a desire to improve our position, a weariness of the conflict and a fear of disaster."

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Under its congressional authorization, the Chrysler Loan Guarantee Board cannot issue the loan guarantee until it has received signed agreements from all those who have agreed to participate in Chrysler's plan to raise \$2 billion in private financing. The government has required the private financing as a condition of the loan guarantee, but some of the banks involved have not yet signed their agreements.

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Mr. Towe said that anti-dumping laws "are not per se protectionist. However, if the system is abused — if petitions are being filed against trading partners who are not dumping, who are competing fairly and squarely in the U.S. market — they can only be characterized as harassment and protectionism."

Under the trigger-price mechanism, an anti-dumping investigation is initiated against a foreign company that sells steel in the United States at prices below the cost of production. Canadian steelmakers are allowed to sell steel in the United States below the trigger prices because those prices are not below their costs of production.

In a related development, a Japanese steel official, Hiroshi Takano, yesterday harshly criticized U.S. steelmakers for threatening to file anti-dumping cases against Japanese steel producers.

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against the Japanese and hinted that the Canadians might be next.

Mr. Towe said that anti-dumping laws "are not per se protectionist. However, if the system is abused — if petitions are being filed against trading partners who are not dumping, who are competing fairly and squarely in the U.S. market — they can only be characterized as harassment and protectionism."

Under the trigger-price mechanism, an anti-dumping investigation is initiated against a foreign company that sells steel in the United States at prices below the cost of production. Canadian steelmakers are allowed to sell steel in the United States below the trigger prices because those prices are not below their costs of production.

In a related development, a Japanese steel official, Hiroshi Takano, yesterday harshly criticized U.S. steelmakers for threatening to file anti-dumping cases against Japanese steel producers.

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n to Double

Is the Stock Market Failing U.S. Business?

By John F. Lawrence

WASHINGTON, June 12 (L.A.P.) — In their search for reasons why the U.S. stock market is failing U.S. business, some economists are making disquieting suggestions that over-dependence on the stock market may be one of the root causes.

For nearly three decades after World War II, a basically rising stock market provided the fuel for a post-war economic boom. For instance, it was a way to share in growth and at the same time see savings grow at a pace at least keeping pace with inflation.

But since stock prices collapsed in 1970, the market has not been keeping up its role. Stock prices, at least half the level of the 1960s peak, have turned into a drain on capital. Also have been campaigns for changes in government policy. Some hope eventually could revive the market, but others are pessimistic.

Short-Sighted Goals
Simple terms, what they are is that corporate concern is keeping up the price of the stock and avoiding unfriendly takeovers. American managers to become excessively short-term in their profit goals. As a result, long-term planning and investment are suffering while foreign investors are being repelled.

Another problem is the long-term government policy of encouraging economic growth and consumption through tax incentives while maintaining heavy taxes on savings. The result is a consumer savings rate much lower in the United States than abroad, hence a shortage of funds going into both stocks and bond savings accounts. This has forced up interest rates and as the cost of borrowing has increased, corporations have grown more reluctant to commit to major new projects.

Some U.S. leaders blame this on such things as the environmental movement and heavy taxes that have gone for anti-pollution rather than expansion or replacement of productive equipment. Others concede some industries became smug and complacent in the decades of rapid growth following World War II. They also point to the fact that Europe and Japan were forced to rebuild — with U.S. help — after the wartime devastation.

But whatever the excuse, there is an increasing realization that somehow the foreign firms may be out-planning their U.S. counterparts. Increasingly, business leaders are talking of more centralized planning, perhaps not directly by government but through government encouragement. The encouragement could take the form of tax incentives for certain investments and relaxed antitrust laws to permit some forms of industry-wide planning and joint production projects.

Meanwhile, there are others who contend the real problem lies within U.S. corporate management itself and that it is here that basic change is required. Peter Drucker, Claremont College professor, author and student of management practices, contends that foreign firms have adopted the best of American business practices, while American management has forgotten some of them.

At least one reform that would, help, many experts say, would be to structure executive bonus pay systems to reward long-term rather than short-term success. This would offset some of the market pressure. Moreover, many major corporations have broadened the base of their boards of directors by taking on more executives from outside the company. Thus, in more cases, boards have some independence from the management group they are overseeing.

Still, big questions are being raised about the quality of U.S. management and a number of institutions and traditions, including even the value of the public stock market, are coming under new scrutiny.

of the Center for European Studies at Harvard University.

In a similar vein, Edwin Reischauer, Harvard professor and former ambassador to Japan, writes in a recent book on that country that Japanese firms are less profit oriented and more prone to push sales of products because greater size means more availability of funds from the banks.

Looking to Washington
Such comments come as a number of U.S. industries are turning increasingly to Washington to find a way out of what they see as excessive and even unfair impositions on their home markets by foreign manufacturers.

Already successful in lowering capital gains taxes, which they considered penalize those willing to risk their money, they currently are pressing for further incentives to stimulate a greater flow of funds into stock investments.

At the same time, there is surprising widespread agreement among U.S. businessmen that they must concentrate far too much on immediate crises and pay too little attention to setting long-run goals. Many say they feel too much pressure to avoid even a short period of earnings decline or losses. But many are quick to defend the stock market and lay the blame for any short-sightedness on other causes.

One key factor, they say, is the volatile nature of the American economy in recent years, with wild gyrations in the inflation rate, in interest rates and in the overall strength of business.

Another problem is the long-term government policy of encouraging economic growth and consumption through tax incentives while maintaining heavy taxes on savings. The result is a consumer savings rate much lower in the United States than abroad, hence a shortage of funds going into both stocks and bond savings accounts. This has forced up interest rates and as the cost of borrowing has increased, corporations have grown more reluctant to commit to major new projects.

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NYSE Nationwide Trading Closing Prices June 12

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street.

12 Month Stock	High	Low	Div.	% Yld.	P/E	100s.	High	Low	Close	Change
3M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
4M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
5M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
6M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
7M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
8M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
9M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
10M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
11M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
12M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
13M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
14M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
15M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
16M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
17M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
18M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
19M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
20M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
21M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
22M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
23M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
24M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
25M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
26M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
27M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
28M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
29M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
30M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
31M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
32M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
33M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
34M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
35M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
36M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
37M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
38M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
39M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
40M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
41M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
42M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
43M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
44M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
45M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
46M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
47M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
48M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
49M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
50M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
51M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
52M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
53M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
54M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
55M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
56M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
57M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
58M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
59M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
60M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
61M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
62M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
63M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
64M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
65M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
66M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
67M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
68M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
69M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
70M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
71M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
72M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
73M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
74M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
75M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
76M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
77M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
78M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
79M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
80M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
81M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
82M Corp.	21 1/2	21 1/4	1.00	4.8	10.5	100	21 1/2	21 1/4	21 1/2	+ 1/4
83M Corp.	21 1									

12 Month Stock										12 Month Stock										12 Month Stock											
High	Low	Stock	Div.	In	2 Yd.	P/E	S/A	100s.	High	Low	Stock	Div.	In	4 Yd.	P/E	S/A	100s.	High	Low	Stock	Div.	In	6 Yd.	P/E	S/A	100s.	High	Low	Stock		
Quot.	Close	Prev	Close	Quot.	Quot.	Close	Prev	Close	Quot.	Quot.	Close	Prev	Close	Quot.	Close	Prev	Close	Quot.	Quot.	Close	Prev	Close	Quot.	Close	Prev	Close	Quot.	Quot.	Close	Prev	
12.00	11.00	10.00	9.00	8.00	7.00	6.00	5.00	4.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

12 Month Stock										12 Month Stock										12 Month Stock											
High	Low	Stock	Div.	In	2 Yd.	P/E	S/A	100s.	High	Low	Stock	Div.	In	4 Yd.	P/E	S/A	100s.	High	Low	Stock	Div.	In	6 Yd.	P/E	S/A	100s.	High	Low	Stock		
Quot.	Close	Prev	Close	Quot.	Quot.	Close	Prev	Close	Quot.	Quot.	Close	Prev	Close	Quot.	Close	Prev	Close	Quot.	Quot.	Close	Prev	Close	Quot.	Close	Prev	Close	Quot.	Quot.	Close	Prev	
12.00	11.00	10.00	9.00	8.00	7.00	6.00	5.00	4.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Invest, Work and Live in the United States

Immigration and visas

- Adjustment of visa status
- Permanent residence (green card)
- Treaty trader - investor visas
- Company executive visas
- Work permit

Eurocurrency Interest Rates

June 12, 1980

	Dollar	D-Mark	Swiss	Sterling	French
1 M. 9%-9%	9 1/8-9 1/4	5 11/16-12 1/16	17%-17 1/2	12 1/2-12 3/4	9 1/8-9 1/4
3 M. 9 1/8-9 1/4	9 1/8-9 1/4	5 11/16-12 1/16	17%-17 1/2	12 1/2-12 3/4	9 1/8-9 1/4
6 M. 9 1/8-9 1/4	9 1/8-9 1/4	5 11/16-12 1/16	17%-17 1/2	12 1/2-12 3/4	9 1/8-9 1/4
9 M. 9 1/8-9 1/4	9 1/8-9 1/4	5 11/16-12 1/16	17%-17 1/2	12 1/2-12 3/4	9 1/8-9 1/4
1 Y. 9 1/8-9 1/4	9 1/8-9 1/4	5 11/16-12 1/16	17%-17 1/2	12 1/2-12 3/4	9 1/8-9 1/4

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(Continued on Page 15)

INTERNATIONAL REAL ESTATE

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Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street.

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private safes, electric door with
videophone and there is also a caretaker.*

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Chicago Futures

June 12, 1980

Open	High	Low	Close	Chg
120.00	120.50	120.00	120.25	+0.25
120.25	120.75	120.25	120.50	+0.25
120.50	121.00	120.50	120.75	+0.25
120.75	121.25	120.75	121.00	+0.25
121.00	121.50	121.00	121.25	+0.25
121.25	121.75	121.25	121.50	+0.25
121.50	122.00	121.50	121.75	+0.25
121.75	122.25	121.75	122.00	+0.25
122.00	122.50	122.00	122.25	+0.25
122.25	122.75	122.25	122.50	+0.25
122.50	123.00	122.50	122.75	+0.25
122.75	123.25	122.75	123.00	+0.25
123.00	123.50	123.00	123.25	+0.25
123.25	123.75	123.25	123.50	+0.25
123.50	124.00	123.50	123.75	+0.25
123.75	124.25	123.75	124.00	+0.25
124.00	124.50	124.00	124.25	+0.25
124.25	124.75	124.25	124.50	+0.25
124.50	125.00	124.50	124.75	+0.25
124.75	125.25	124.75	125.00	+0.25
125.00	125.50	125.00	125.25	+0.25
125.25	125.75	125.25	125.50	+0.25
125.50	126.00	125.50	125.75	+0.25
125.75	126.25	125.75	126.00	+0.25
126.00	126.50	126.00	126.25	+0.25
126.25	126.75	126.25	126.50	+0.25
126.50	127.00	126.50	126.75	+0.25
126.75	127.25	126.75	127.00	+0.25
127.00	127.50	127.00	127.25	+0.25
127.25	127.75	127.25	127.50	+0.25
127.50	128.00	127.50	127.75	+0.25
127.75	128.25	127.75	128.00	+0.25
128.00	128.50	128.00	128.25	+0.25
128.25	128.75	128.25	128.50	+0.25
128.50	129.00	128.50	128.75	+0.25
128.75	129.25	128.75	129.00	+0.25
129.00	129.50	129.00	129.25	+0.25
129.25	129.75	129.25	129.50	+0.25
129.50	130.00	129.50	129.75	+0.25
129.75	130.25	129.75	130.00	+0.25
130.00	130.50	130.00	130.25	+0.25
130.25	130.75	130.25	130.50	+0.25
130.50	130.75	130.50	130.50	+0.25

U.S. Commodity Prices

Open	High	Low	Close	Chg
120.00	120.50	120.00	120.25	+0.25
120.25	120.75	120.25	120.50	+0.25
120.50	121.00	120.50	120.75	+0.25
120.75	121.25	120.75	121.00	+0.25
121.00	121.50	121.00	121.25	+0.25
121.25	121.75	121.25	121.50	+0.25
121.50	122.00	121.50	121.75	+0.25
121.75	122.25	121.75	122.00	+0.25
122.00	122.50	122.00	122.25	+0.25
122.25	122.75	122.25	122.50	+0.25
122.50	123.00	122.50	122.75	+0.25
122.75	123.25	122.75	123.00	+0.25
123.00	123.50	123.00	123.25	+0.25
123.25	123.75	123.25	123.50	+0.25
123.50	124.00	123.50	123.75	+0.25
123.75	124.25	123.75	124.00	+0.25
124.00	124.50	124.00	124.25	+0.25
124.25	124.75	124.25	124.50	+0.25
124.50	125.00	124.50	124.75	+0.25
124.75	125.25	124.75	125.00	+0.25
125.00	125.50	125.00	125.25	+0.25
125.25	125.75	125.25	125.50	+0.25
125.50	126.00	125.50	125.75	+0.25
125.75	126.25	125.75	126.00	+0.25
126.00	126.50	126.00	126.25	+0.25
126.25	126.75	126.25	126.50	+0.25
126.50	127.00	126.50	126.75	+0.25
126.75	127.25	126.75	127.00	+0.25
127.00	127.50	127.00	127.25	+0.25
127.25	127.75	127.25	127.50	+0.25
127.50	128.00	127.50	127.75	+0.25
127.75	128.25	127.75	128.00	+0.25
128.00	128.50	128.00	128.25	+0.25
128.25	128.75	128.25	128.50	+0.25
128.50	129.00	128.50	128.75	+0.25
128.75	129.25	128.75	129.00	+0.25
129.00	129.50	129.00	129.25	+0.25
129.25	129.75	129.25	129.50	+0.25
129.50	130.00	129.50	129.75	+0.25
129.75	130.25	129.75	130.00	+0.25
130.00	130.50	130.00	130.25	+0.25
130.25	130.75	130.25	130.50	+0.25
130.50	130.75	130.50	130.50	+0.25

New York Futures

June 12, 1980

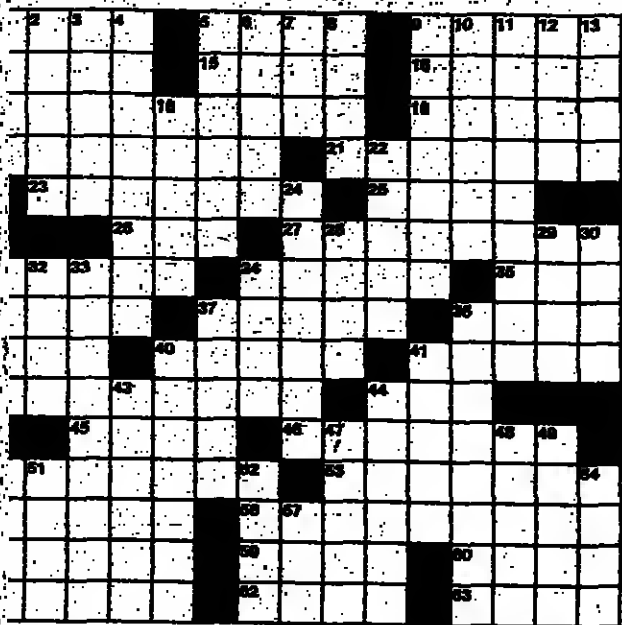
Open	High	Low	Close	Chg
120.00	120.50	120.00	120.25	+0.25
120.25	120.75	120.25	120.50	+0.25
120.50	121.00	120.50	120.75	+0.25
120.75	121.25	120.75	121.00	+0.25
121.00	121.50	121.00	121.25	+0.25
121.25	121.75	121.25	121.50	+0.25
121.50	122.00	121.50	121.75	+0.25
121.75	122.25	121.75	122.00	+0.25
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122.25	122.75	122.25	122.50	+0.25
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123.00	123.50	123.00	123.25	+0.25
123.25	123.75	123.25	123.50	+0.25
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124.25	124.75	124.25	124.50	+0.25
124.50	125.00	124.50	124.75	+0.25
124.75	125.25	124.75	125.00	+0.25
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127.25	127.75	127.25	127.50	+0.25
127.50	128.00	127.50	127.75	+0.25
127.75	128.25	127.75	128.00	+0.25
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130.00	130.50	130.00	130.25	+0.25
130.25	130.75	130.25	130.50	+0.25
130.50	130.75	130.50	130.50	+0.25

Thursday's New Highs and Lows

NEW HIGHS—70		
AspenCo Inc	Wentworth	Sealed Air
Chickadee Inc	Wentworth	Shenoi Inc
Bakerhill Inc	Wentworth	Smith's Inc
Black Hills	Wentworth	Southern
Cabot Corp	Wentworth	SouthernCo Inc
Chickadee Inc	Wentworth	SouthernCo Inc
Chickadee Inc	Wentworth	SouthernCo Inc
Chickadee Inc	Wentworth	SouthernCo Inc
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Chickadee Inc	Wentworth	SouthernCo Inc
Chickadee Inc	Wentworth	SouthernCo Inc
Chickadee Inc	Wentworth	SouthernCo Inc
Chickadee Inc	Wentworth	SouthernCo Inc
Chickadee Inc		

WORD

By Eugene T. Malaska



ROSS
 1. ster's toss
 2. in
 3. tern
 4. cloth's
 5. der
 6. ten or
 7. Martin
 8. how
 9. tale of
 10. nature
 11. boat
 12. and
 13. ple
 14. empty for
 15. fix with
 16. man
 17. tal
 18. et
 19. Je of red
 20. to stop
 21. French
 22. ads up the
 23. or
 24. posts for
 25. le parts
 26. on the
 27. e drinks

41. Electronog-
 42. Whori
 43. Nonsense!
 44. — bien
 45. Minerals used
 46. Training
 47. partner for
 48. Holmes
 49. Iridescent
 50. Chinese duck
 51. Assumess
 52. Lycée student
 53. TV's Barbara
 54. Beautiful girl
 55. Medicinal
 56. amounts
 57. Simon —
 58. Some are tight

DOWN
 1. Type of
 2. housing
 3. Incus
 4. Court
 5. employee, for
 6. short
 7. Whirlwinds
 8. Fine and
 9. dandy
 10. Hindu queen
 11. 7 Assn.
 12. — ran
 13. (loser)

Solution to Previous Puzzle

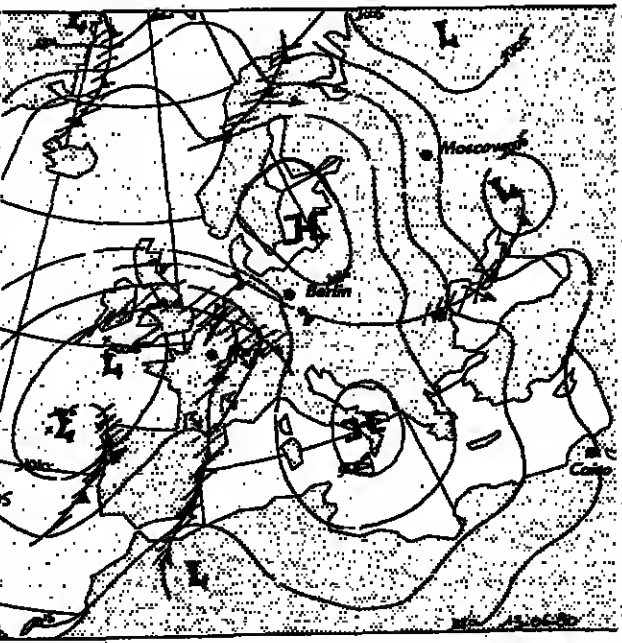
TIME UNIAN WPA
 OATS BENTLE WALT
 UNIAO OMBIAHES
 SIBOD OMBISTE
 EYM BEICH
 AIE EOB STATED
 WOB SYUN UNLE
 TION OMBIAHES
 CATEAHE DRE DRE
 MORA OSH
 REIMEDIN TEARA
 WATSONAHOLES
 WHITE ALIAGE LEST
 STU SLAKE ONTO

WEATHER

	C	F		C	F		
VE	16	61	Cloudy	MADRID	18	64	Cloudy
ADAM	21	70	Fair	ALABAMA	27	81	Rain
LADE	28	82	Fair	MILAN	24	75	Fair
EST	17	63	Fair	MONTREAL	11	52	Overcast
ARCA	28	82	Fair	MOSCOW	21	70	Fair
HAGEN	22	72	Fair	MUNICH	24	75	Fair
DEL SOL	22	72	Fair	NEW YORK	19	66	Fair
IRISH	22	72	Fair	NICE	21	70	Fair
NEST	21	70	Cloudy	OSLO	15	59	Cloudy
ARCA	26	79	Fair	PARIS	21	70	Overcast
HAGEN	26	79	Fair	PRAHUE	24	75	Cloudy
DEL SOL	16	61	Rain	ROME	24	75	Fair
IRISH	22	72	Cloudy	STOCKHOLM	14	57	Fair
NEST	21	70	Rain	TEHRAN	31	88	Fair
ARCA	26	79	Fair	TEL AVIV	31	88	Fair
HAGEN	26	79	Fair	TOKYO	24	75	Overcast
DEL SOL	22	72	Cloudy	TUNIS	25	77	Fair
IRISH	22	72	Fair	VIENNA	25	77	Fair
NEST	21	70	Cloudy	WARSAW	19	66	Rain
ARCA	26	79	Fair	WASHINGTON	21	70	Cloudy
HAGEN	26	79	Rain	ZURICH	24	75	Fair
DEL SOL	17	63	Overcast				
IRISH	22	72	Fair				
NEST	21	70	Fair				

(Yesterday's readings U.S. and Canada at 1700 GMT; Western and Los Angeles at 2000 GMT; Tokyo and Hawaii at 1300 GMT.)

uation Forecast for Noon, G.M.T. Friday



Thunderstorm
 Rain
 Snow
 Front Movement

Warm Front
 Cold Front
 Occluded Front
 Quasi-Stationary Front

r-to-Ground Telephone Service Begins Tests on U.S. Airlines

GO, June 12 (AP) — United Airlines has announced it will begin tests today of a new service for passengers — air-to-ground telephone service.

Telephone, installed on one of the airline's DC-10s, is a standard 12-al model that works by radio transmission, according to Steve of United's planning department. Passengers will press each of ns until they hear a clear tone that means they have reached an at the ground station nearest the flight path.

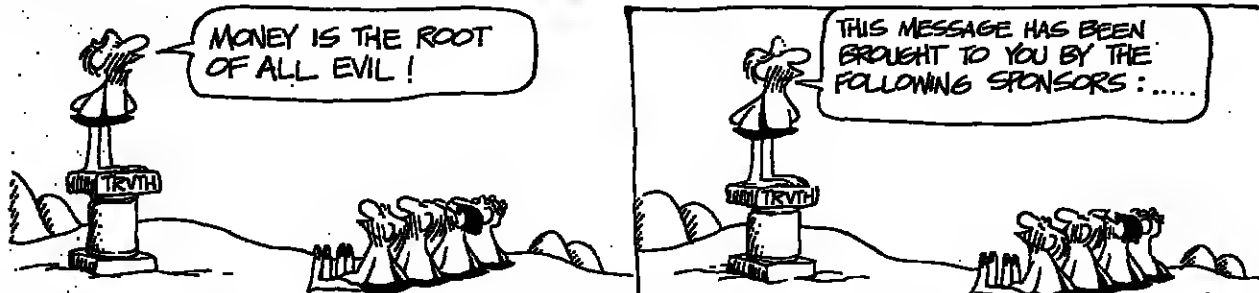
erator will take billing information and then connect the passenger number he is trying to reach. The charge is \$10 plus cost of the

plane is one of the few places left now where you can't make a call," Mr. Grosvald said. though some people would probably like to keep it that way — it's one place you can't be disturbed," Mr. Grosvald said — nks the new service may be appealing to businessmen.

PEANUTS



B.C.



BLONDIE



BEEBLEBAILEY



REX MORGAN



DONESBURY



JUMBLE. THAT SCRAMBLED WORD GAME

Unscramble these four Jumbles, one letter to each square, to form four ordinary words.

KANEL
 KETOS
 TANGOU
 TIPECK

Answer: HIM

Jumbles: SOUSE OBESE NINETY ASYLUM
 Answer: The man most likely to succeed—odds enough—THE BOSS'S SON

DENNIS THE MENACE



'DON'T SAY TOMBOY, SAY TOM-GIRL... UNLESS YOU WANT GET CLOBBERED.'

BOOKS

THE REAL WAR

By Richard Nixon. Warner Books. 341 pp. \$12.50.

Reviewed by Flora Lewis

WORLD WAR III has already begun. In fact, it began right after World War II, former President Richard Nixon tells us in his new book "The Real War" is an exhortation to face up to the conflict and fight — without the use of arms, if possible, but without shying away from force, if necessary. Nixon states his position so bluntly that there is no point in paraphrasing it. He writes: "It may seem melodramatic to test the twin poles of human experience as represented by the United States and the Soviet Union as the equivalent of Good and Evil, Light and Darkness, God and the Devil; yet if we allow ourselves to think of them that way, even hypothetically, it can help clarify our perspective on the world struggle. If we determine to win, if we resolve to accept no substitute for victory, then victory becomes possible. Then the spirit gives edge to the sword, the sword preserves the spirit, and freedom will prevail." (The phrase "no substitute for victory," Nixon acknowledges, is borrowed from Gen. Douglas MacArthur's rebuttal to President Truman's order forbidding U.S. forces from pursuing the Chinese across the Yalu River during the Korean War.)

Reconciling His Present View

This apocalyptic message comes from the president who repeatedly proclaimed during his term of office that he was launching "a generation of peace" and "a new world order." Those promises are no longer mentioned, nor is much effort devoted to reconciling his present view of the Russians — as permanently and ineluctably aggressive and untrustworthy — with the policies he adopted, the agreements he made and the hopes he proffered while in office.

Only twice does Nixon acknowledge the possibility that he might have made a mistake. He now regrets his 1971 decision to freeze wages and prices, but he blames Congress for forcing him to do so by preparing to enact a worse program. He also regrets what he calls the "creation of a willowy euphoria" and the raising of "unrealistic expectations" regarding his 1972 Moscow and Peking summits. But he excuses himself because the "events themselves were so dramatic" that feelings could hardly have been otherwise and because "it was an election year, and I wanted the political credit for what I believed were genuinely major advances toward a stable peace."

The rest of the book is a straightforward call for the United States to mobilize all its power — military, economic, political, presidential, clandestine, intellectual, informational and especially war power — to combat the Soviet Union on a global scale.

The timing of "The Real War," which appears at a moment of crisis and fear throughout much of the world, is clearly no accident. The book was evidently hastily written after the seizure of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Much of it seems even to have been written by committee; Nixon has collected the barbed quotations and cited the nastiest events to support his argument, and then put them together without much historical context or analysis, without any attempt to balance or justify such a highly selective approach.

Oddly, it makes for plodding reading, like a laundry list or a directory. Nixon often uses breezy phrases — the title of a section about Saudi Arabia is "The Big Enchilada," for example, and the Russians have "come" the world and "patented and bottled their medicine" for domination. His sentences are direct, sharp and short, in the recommended style for action writing. Yet the absence of subtlety in the language finally has the effect of a steady, thunderous drumbeat, at once enervating and soporific. It takes an effort to concentrate on what he is actually saying and to remember the real world he says he is talking about and addressing.

Nixon says America must do exactly what its foes and critics charge it secretly wants to do, what the most vehement anti-American propagandists say its secret nature impels it to do. He recommends that the United States abandon its scruples in international affairs, that it categorize all countries as friends or enemies and act on that basis alone, that it regard the whole globe in terms of America's national purpose.

Pravda editorialists will find a treasure trove of damning quotations in this book. For example, Nixon says of southern Africa, and apparently of the aspirations and views of the Third World in general: "We must not, out of a misplaced idealism, allow our policies toward southern Africa to become hostage to the parochial passions of African leaders who have no appreciation or concern for the issues at stake there between East and West."

It was this "us" or "them" approach, advanced by the late John Foster Dulles on the grounds that neutrality or non-engagement in the great power struggle was "immoral," which first drove so much of the world into "non-alignment" (though often with a pro-Soviet tilt). It is a large part of the reason why the United States lost the sympathy of, and the role of reliable guide to, so much of the world. This demand that the world's choices be limited to standing in line behind the United States or the Soviet Union, this rejection of every other country's right to determine its own priorities, is a recipe for limiting America's support and influence in the rest of the world exclusively to those nations whose first motive is fear or greed. There is scarcely any room left for the notion of free association on the basis of mutual benefit or higher common interest, and a good deal of justification for the claim that the United States and the Soviet Union are really no different.

'Limits on Idealism'

And Nixon argues that the United States must accumulate and exercise power in order to defend America's way of life — not America's ideals or values, because, he argues, "realism" often requires compromising or suspending ideals when dealing with less favored countries. World leadership, he writes, "requires placing limits on idealism, compromising with reality, at times matching duplicity with duplicity, and even brutality with brutality." Sometimes, "realism" even requires such policies at home.

I think Nixon is right to tell people they can no longer afford complacency. This is indeed a period of tension and grave danger, a period when the fortunes and safety of the West risk being irreparably undermined. So there is an urgent need for careful analysis of threats and opportunities, for prudence and wisdom, for sage efforts to understand other peoples' needs, grievances and hopes, for a search for the smallest as well as the strength of unity in consent.

But I think Nixon has done his country a stunning disservice in telling Americans and the world that all they can do about the situation is to don a mailed fist and use it.

Flora Lewis is foreign affairs columnist for The New York Times.

Country Music Passes Pop in Record Sales

NASHVILLE, Tenn. (UPI) — Country music sales have surpassed pop music and pulled into second place behind rock 'n' roll for the first time. Figures released by the New Jersey-based National Association of Recording Merchandisers show that country enjoyed gross sales of \$437 million last year — a \$10 million jump over 1978 — but outstripped pop, disco and soul record sales.

BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

ON the diagrammed deal a strange reversal of one spot by West propelled North-South into five diamonds, rather than three no-trump, which would have succeeded as the cards lie. Against five diamonds West made the passive lead of a trump. South now made a clever play. If East held the club king he was safe and there was no hurry to play that suit. So he won the first trick in his hand and led the spade deuce.

West put up his king, and was not sure about the position when his partner played the five. Thinking that South held the spade ace he

shifted to a club, hoping to score two tricks in that suit before South could take a discard on his hypothetical spade ace.

This helped South, but he still did not have 11 tricks. He won with the club jack and led another spade, losing to East. When a club was returned he played the ace, convinced by the earlier club trick that the king was on his left. Four rounds of trumps left this position:

NORTH	WEST	EAST	SOUTH
♠K63	♠Q107	♠J94	♠A
♥K	♥Q	♥A	♥K
♦Q4	♦K953	♦A10	♦J
♣K	♣A10	♣J	♣Q

North and South were vulnerable. The bidding:

South	West	North	East
1♠	1♣	2♦	Pass
3♦	Pass	4♦	Pass
5♦	Pass	Pass	Pass

West led the diamond two.

On the lead of the last trump from dummy East threw a heart. South thought carefully and gave up the spade ten. West had to part with a heart, so the heart six won the last trick in dummy. As he scored up his game South asked East why he had not raised spades. "Did you see my partner's hand?" was the response. "He bids for both of us."

European Stock Markets

June 12, 1980
(Closing prices in local currencies)

Amsterdam

USA	37.10	39.10	41.10	43.10	45.10	47.10	49.10	51.10	53.10	55.10	57.10	59.10	61.10	63.10	65.10	67.10	69.10	71.10	73.10	75.10	77.10	79.10	81.10	83.10	85.10	87.10	89.10	91.10	93.10	95.10	97.10	99.10	101.10	103.10	105.10	107.10	109.10	111.10	113.10	115.10	117.10	119.10	121.10	123.10	125.10	127.10	129.10	131.10	133.10	135.10	137.10	139.10	141.10	143.10	145.10	147.10	149.10	151.10	153.10	155.10	157.10	159.10	161.10	163.10	165.10	167.10	169.10	171.10	173.10	175.10	177.10	179.10	181.10	183.10	185.10	187.10	189.10	191.10	193.10	195.10	197.10	199.10	201.10	203.10	205.10	207.10	209.10	211.10	213.10	215.10	217.10	219.10	221.10	223.10	225.10	227.10	229.10	231.10	233.10	235.10	237.10	239.10	241.10	243.10	245.10	247.10	249.10	251.10	253.10	255.10	257.10	259.10	261.10	263.10	265.10	267.10	269.10	271.10	273.10	275.10	277.10	279.10	281.10	283.10	285.10	287.10	289.10	291.10	293.10	295.10	297.10	299.10	301.10	303.10	305.10	307.10	309.10	311.10	313.10	315.10	317.10	319.10	321.10	323.10	325.10	327.10	329.10	331.10	333.10	335.10	337.10	339.10	341.10	343.10	345.10	347.10	349.10	351.10	353.10	355.10	357.10	359.10	361.10	363.10	365.10	367.10	369.10	371.10	373.10	375.10	377.10	379.10	381.10	383.10	385.10	387.10	389.10	391.10	393.10	395.10	397.10	399.10	401.10	403.10	405.10	407.10	409.10	411.10	413.10	415.10	417.10	419.10	421.10	423.10	425.10	427.10	429.10	431.10	433.10	435.10	437.10	439.10	441.10	443.10	445.10	447.10	449.10	451.10	453.10	455.10	457.10	459.10	461.10	463.10	465.10	467.10	469.10	471.10	473.10	475.10	477.10	479.10	481.10	483.10	485.10	487.10	489.10	491.10	493.10	495.10	497.10	499.10	501.10	503.10	505.10	507.10	509.10	511.10	513.10	515.10	517.10	519.10	521.10	523.10	525.10	527.10	529.10	531.10	533.10	535.10	537.10	539.10	541.10	543.10	545.10	547.10	549.10	551.10	553.10	555.10	557.10	559.10	561.10	563.10	565.10	567.10	569.10	571.10	573.10	575.10	577.10	579.10	581.10	583.10	585.10	587.10	589.10	591.10	593.10	595.10	597.10	599.10	601.10	603.10	605.10	607.10	609.10	611.10	613.10	615.10	617.10	619.10	621.10	623.10	625.10	627.10	629.10	631.10	633.10	635.10	637.10	639.10	641.10	643.10	645.10	647.10	649.10	651.10	653.10	655.10	657.10	659.10	661.10	663.10	665.10	667.10	669.10	671.10	673.10	675.10	677.10	679.10	681.10	683.10	685.10	687.10	689.10	691.10	693.10	695.10	697.10	699.10	701.10	703.10	705.10	707.10	709.10	711.10	713.10	715.10	717.10	719.10	721.10	723.10	725.10	727.10	729.10	731.10	733.10	735.10	737.10	739.10	741.10	743.10	745.10	747.10	749.10	751.10	753.10	755.10	757.10	759.10	761.10	763.10	765.10	767.10	769.10	771.10	773.10	775.10	777.10	779.10	781.10	783.10	785.10	787.10	789.10	791.10	793.10	795.10	797.10	799.10	801.10	803.10	805.10	807.10	809.10	811.10	813.10	815.10	817.10	819.10	821.10	823.10	825.10	827.10	829.10	831.10	833.10	835.10	837.10	839.10	841.10	843.10	845.10	847.10	849.10	851.10	853.10	855.10	857.10	859.10	861.10	863.10	865.10	867.10	869.10	871.10	873.10	875.10	877.10	879.10	881.10	883.10	885.10	887.10	889.10	891.10	893.10	895.10	897.10	899.10	901.10	903.10	905.10	907.10	909.10	911.10	913.10	915.10	917.10	919.10	921.10	923.10	925.10	927.10	929.10	931.10	933.10	935.10	937.10	939.10	941.10	943.10	945.10	947.10	949.10	951.10	953.10	955.10	957.10	959.10	961.10	963.10	965.10	967.10	969.10	971.10	973.10	975.10	977.10	979.10	981.10	983.10	985.10	987.10	989.10	991.10	993.10	995.10	997.10	999.10	1001.10	1003.10	1005.10	1007.10	1009.10	1011.10	1013.10	1015.10	1017.10	1019.10	1021.10	1023.10	1025.10	1027.10	1029.10	1031.10	1033.10	1035.10	1037.10	1039.10	1041.10	1043.10	1045.10	1047.10	1049.10	1051.10	1053.10	1055.10	1057.10	1059.10	1061.10	1063.10	1065.10	1067.10	1069.10	1071.10	1073.10	1075.10	1077.10	1079.10	1081.10	1083.10	1085.10	1087.10	1089.10	1091.10	1093.10	1095.10	1097.10	1099.10	1101.10	1103.10	1105.10	1107.10	1109.10	1111.10	1113.10	1115.10	1117.10	1119.10	1121.10	1123.10	1125.10	1127.10	1129.10	1131.10	1133.10	1135.10	1137.10	1139.10	1141.10	1143.10	1145.10	1147.10	1149.10	1151.10	1153.10	1155.10	1157.10	1159.10	1161.10	1163.10	1165.10	1167.10	1169.10	1171.10	1173.10	1175.10	1177.10	1179.10	1181.10	1183.10	1185.10	1187.10	1189.10	1191.10	1193.10	1195.10	1197.10	1199.10	1201.10	1203.10	1205.10	1207.10	1209.10	1211.10	1213.10	1215.10	1217.10	1219.10	1221.10	1223.10	1225.10	1227.10	1229.10	1231.10	1233.10	1235.10	1237.10	1239.10	1241.10	1243.10	1245.10	1247.10	1249.10	1251.10	1253.10	1255.10	1257.10	1259.10	1261.10	1263.10	1265.10	1267.10	1269.10	1271.10	1273.10	1275.10	1277.10	1279.10	1281.10	1283.10	1285.10	1287.10	1289.10	1291.10	1293.10	1295.10	1297.10	1299.10	1301.10	1303.10	1305.10	1307.10	1309.10	1311.10	1313.10	1315.10	1317.10	1319.10	1321.10	1323.10	1325.10	1327.10	1329.10	1331.10	1333.10	1335.10	1337.10	1339.10	1341.10	1343.10	1345.10	1347.10	1349.10	1351.10	1353.10	1355.10	1357.10	1359.10	1361.10	1363.10	1365.10	1367.10	1369.10	1371.10	1373.10	1375.10	1377.10	1379.10	1381.10	1383.10	1385.10	1387.10	1389.10	1391.10	1393.10	1395.10	1397.10	1399.10	1401.10	1403.10	1405.10	1407.10	1409.10	1411.10	1413.10	1415.10	1417.10	1419.10	1421.10	1423.10	1425.10	1427.10	1429.10	1431.10	1433.10	1435.10	1437.10	1439.10	1441.10	1443.10	1445.10	1447.10	1449.10	1451.10	1453.10	1455.10	1457.10	1459.10	1461.10	1463.10	1465.10	1467.10	1469.10	1471.10	1473.10	1475.10	1477.10	1479.10	1481.10	1483.10	1485.10	1487.10	1489.10	1491.10	1493.10	1495.10	1497.10	1499.10	1501.10	1503.10	1505.10	1507.10	1509.10	1511.10	1513.10	1515.10	1517.10	1519.10	1521.10	1523.10	1525.10	1527.10	1529.10	1531.10	1533.10	1535.10	1537.10	1539.10	1541.10	1543.10	1545.10	1547.10	1549.10	1551.10	1553.10	1555.10	1557.10	1559.10	1561.10	1563.10	1565.10	1567.10	1569.10	1571.10	1573.10	1575.10	1577.10	1579.10	1581.10	1583.10	1585.10	1587.10	1589.10	1591.10	1593.10	1595.10	1597.10	1599.10	1601.10	1603.10	1605.10	1607.10	1609.10	1611.10	1613.10	1615.10	1617.10	1619.10	1621.10	1623.10	1625.10	1627.10	1629.10	1631.10	1633.10	1635.10	1637.10	1639.10	1641.10	1643.10	1645.10	1647.10	1649.10	1651.10	1653.10	1655.10	1657.10	1659.10	1661.10	1663.10	1665.10	1667.10	1669.10	1671.10	1673.10	1675.10	1677.10	1679.10	1681.10	1683.10	1685.10	1687.10	1689.10	1691.10	1693.10	1695.10	1697.10	1699.10	1701.10	1703.10	1705.10	1707.10	1709.10	1711.10	1713.10	1715.10	1717.10	1719.10	1721.10	1723.10	1725.10	1727.10	1729.10	1731.10	1733.10	1735.10	1737.10	1739.10	1741.10	1743.10	1745.10	1747.10	1749.10	1751.10	1753.10	1755.10	1757.10	1759.10	1761.10	1763.10	1765.10	1767.10	1769.10	1771.10	1773.10	1775.10	1777.10	1779.10	1781.10	1783.10	1785.10	1787.10	1789.10	1791.10	1793.10	1795.10	1797.10	1799.10	1801.10	1803.10	1805.10	1807.10	1809.10	1811.10	1813.10	1815.10	1817.10	1819.10	1821.10	1823.10	1825.10	1827.10	1829.10	1831.10	1833.10	1835.10	1837.10	1839.10	1841.10	1843.10	1845.10	1847.10	1849.10	1851.10	1853.10	1855.10	1857.10	1859.10	1861.10	1863.10	1865.10	1867.10	1869.10	1871.10	1873.10	1875.10	1877.10	1879.10	1881.10	1883.10	1885.10	1887.10	1889.10	1891.10	1893.10	1895.10	1897.10	1899.10	1901.10	1903.10	1905.10	1907.10	1909.10	1911.10	1913.10	1915.10	1917.10	1919.10	1921.10	1923.10	1925.10	1927.10	1929.10	1931.10	1933.10	1935.10	1937.10	1939.10	1941.10	1943.10	1945.10	1947.10	1949.10	1951.10	1953.10	1955.10	1957.10	1959.10	1961.10	1963.10	1965.10	1967.10	1969.10	1971.10	1973.10	1975.10	1977.10	1979.10	1981.10	1983.10	1985.10	1987.10	1989.10	1991.10	1993.10	1995.10	1997.10	1999.10	2001.10	2003.10	2005.10	2007.10	2009.10	2011.10	2013.10	2015.10	2017.10	2019.10	2021.10	2023.10	2025.10	2027.10	2029.10	2031.10	2033.10	2035.10	2037.10	2039.10	2041.10	2043.10	2045.10	2047.10	2049.10	2051.10	2053.10	2055.10	2057.10	2059.10	2061.10	2063.10	2065.10	2067.10	2069.10	2071.10	2073.10	2075.10	2077.10	2079.10	2081.10	2083.10	2085.10	2087.10	2089.10	2091.10	2093.10	2095.10	2097.10	2099.10	2101.10	2103.10	2105.10	2107.10	2109.10	2111.10	2113.10	2115.10	2117.10	2119.10	2121.10	2123.10	2125.10	2127.10	2129.10	2131.10	2133.10	2135.10	2137.10	2139.10	2141.10	2143.10	2145.10	2147.10	2149.10	2151.10	2153.10	2155.10	2157.10	2159.10	2161.10	2163.10	2165.10	2167.10	2169.10	2171.10	2173.10	2175.10	2177.10	2179.10	2181.10	2183.10
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